

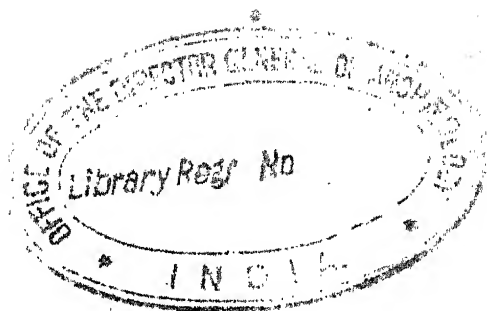
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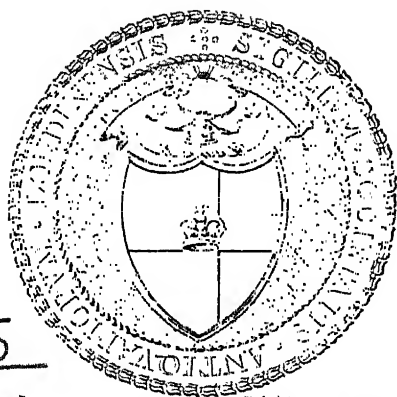
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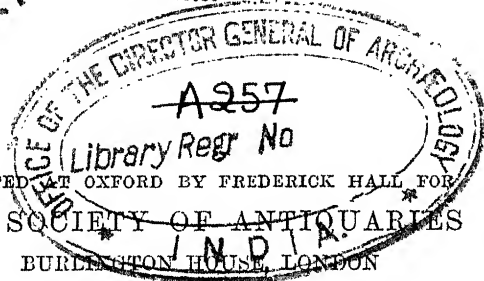
PROCEEDINGS
OF THE
SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES
OF LONDON

26TH NOVEMBER 1914 TO 24TH JUNE 1915

SECOND SERIES, VOL. XXVII



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PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES

OF LONDON

SESSION 1914—1915.

THURSDAY, 26th NOVEMBER, 1914.

Sir ARTHUR JOHN EVANS, Knt., D.Litt., F.R.S., President, and afterwards Sir CHARLES HERCULES READ, Knt., LL.D., Vice-President, in the Chair.

The following gifts were announced, and thanks for the same ordered to be returned to the donors :

From the Author :—The manor and mansion of Moyne's Court, Monmouthshire. By J. G. Wood, LL.B., F.S.A. 8vo. Newport, Mon., 1914.

From the Author :—Notes on Shotwick, in the county of Chester. By F. C. Beazley, F.S.A. 8vo. Liverpool, 1915.

From the Author :—Coat-armour of the London Livery Companies. By Charles Welch, F.S.A. 4to. London, 1914.

From the Author :—Hereward, the Feorman. By W. E. Foster, F.S.A. 8vo. Leicester, 1914.

From E. F. Bosanquet, Esq. :—The Manuscript of William Dunche, being the book of the new ordinary of the king's most honourable household, anno 31 Henry VIII. 8vo. Exeter, 1914.

From Mrs. Barnwell :—

1. La France préhistorique d'après les sépultures et les monuments. Par E. Cartailhac. 8vo. Paris, 1889.
2. L'homme pendant les âges de la pierre dans les environs de Dinant-sur-Meuse. Par M. E. Dupont. 8vo. Brussels, 1872.

From J. E. Pritchard, Esq., F.S.A. :—Views and details of St. Giles's Church, Oxford. By J. Park Harrison. fol. Oxford, 1842.

From the Author :—Pedigree of the family of Corsellis, with abstracts from wills, parish registers, &c. By G. Milner-Gibson-Cullum, F.S.A. 4to. London, 1914.

- From the Author :—The borough of Dunhevet, Cornwall. By C. L. Hart Smith. 8vo. Plymouth, 1914.
- From the Author :—Roman Britain in 1913. By Professor F. Haverfield, F.S.A., F.B.A. 8vo. Oxford, 1914.
- From the Author :—An Oransay shell-mound, a Scottish pre-neolithic site. By A. H. Bishop, F.S.A. Scot. 8vo. Edinburgh, 1914.
- From the Morant Club :—The Augustinian priory church of Little Dunmow : a sketch of its architectural history and an account of recent excavations on its site. By A. W. Clapham, F.S.A. 8vo. Colchester, 1914.
- From J. A. Marsden, Esq. :—Genealogical memoirs of the family of Marsden. By Rev. B. A. Marsden, J. A. Marsden, and R. S. Marsden. sm. 4to. Birkenhead, 1914.
- From the Author :—Notes on the history and antiquities of the Worshipful Company of Coopers. By John Jackson. 4to. London, 1914.
- From the Hunter Archaeological Society :—Transactions, Vol. i, No. 1. 8vo. Sheffield, 1914.
- From the Sheffield Public Library :—Descriptive catalogue of the charters, rolls, deeds, &c., forming the Jackson Collection at the Sheffield Public Reference Library. Compiled by T. W. Hall and A. H. Thomas. 8vo. Sheffield, 1914.
- From Rev. J. T. Fowler, F.S.A. :—Roman (and other) triple vases. By W. J. Kaye. 12mo. London, 1914.
- From Viscount Dillon, D.C.L., F.S.A. :—Autour de notre maison, 1914. By 'Armadillo'. Privately printed. 8vo. London, 1914.
- From Sir Frank Crisp, Bt. :—Wookey Hole, its caves and cave-dwellers. By H. E. Balch, F.S.A. 4to. Oxford, 1914.
- From the Author :—An account of the Leigh Woods in the parish of Long Ashton, County of Somerset. By Lewis J. C. Way, F.S.A. 8vo. Bristol, 1914.
- From J. D. Crace, Esq., F.S.A. :—A guide to the prehistoric rock carvings in the Italian Maritime Alps. By C. Bicknell. 8vo. Bordighera, 1913.
- From James Williams, Esq. :—Convenient and ornamental architecture, consisting of original designs. By John Crunden. 8vo. London, 1815.
- From Harold Sands, Esq., F.S.A. :—
1. The book of the Bayeux Tapestry. By Hilaire Belloc. 8vo. London, 1914.
 2. The history and antiquities of the town of Aberconwy. By Rev. Robert Williams. 8vo. Denbigh, 1835.

John Edwin Couchman, Esq., was admitted a Fellow.

The PRESIDENT, in referring to the exceptional circumstances under which the Society was meeting owing to the war, alluded to the destruction by the German armies of architectural and historical monuments in Belgium and northern France. He also

alluded sympathetically to the loss which the Society had suffered in the death of M. Joseph Déchelette, Hon. F.S.A., Captain in the French Army, who had been killed in action on October 6th.

The PRESIDENT further stated that the Council had been considering the question of changing the hour of the ordinary meetings owing to the dark condition of the London streets and other circumstances occasioned by the war, and gave notice that at the next meeting the Society would be asked to consider the advisability of holding the meetings temporarily at 5 o'clock instead of at 8.30.

HILARY JENKINSON, Esq., B.A., F.S.A., read a paper on Mary de Sancto Paulo, Countess of Pembroke, which will be printed in *Archæologia*.

The Countess of Pembroke who was the subject of the paper was the daughter of Guy de Châtillon, Count of St. Pol (in Picardy) and of Marie of Brittany; being connected thus with the royal houses of both England and France and with all the most distinguished families of the latter country. Born probably about 1304, she was married in 1321 to Aymer de Valence, Earl of Pembroke, himself of very ancient French descent, connected also by birth with the royal blood of both countries, and at least one of the foremost figures of his day in wealth and political influence in England. The Earl died suddenly in 1324, and the Countess remained a widow, and her own mistress, for fifty-three years. During most of that period she lived in England, where she held most extensive estates in dower. She founded an Abbey (Denney) and a College (Pembroke College, Cambridge): and references to small events in her life were very numerous indeed in all the Records of the time. It would be seen that the Countess lived through the whole of one of the most formative and critical periods in the history of two countries, to both of which she was equally, though differently, bound; her position, by reason both of her birth and of other circumstances, was such that her interests and feelings might well be strongly involved on one or the other side. It was the object of the paper to try to discover all possible evidences of an intimate or personal character with regard to her, and, more particularly, to draw some inferences touching her own character and the views she held, or the positions she took up, in the circumstances under which her life was passed.

Rev. H. P. STOKES showed another genealogical table bringing out some additional points, for instance, the connexion between the Dukes of Brittany and the Earls of Richmond and the Zouch

and Mortimer families. It also illustrated various benefactors of Cambridge colleges, such as Lady Margaret in connexion with St. John's and Christ's Colleges, Gonville, Lady Scrope, and the Countess of Sussex.

Mr. MINNS referred to Faber's series of founders' portraits, and explained that Lady Margaret had been taken with her head-dress turned round and touched up in reminiscence of the miniature showing Lady Pembroke. It was hardly necessary to caution the Society against that portrait, which was often seen.

Sir WILLIAM HOPE dealt with the connexion of Lady Pembroke with the Carthusian order: she was mentioned as paying for the building of one or more of the cells of the London Charterhouse. With regard to Denney, he was able to state that the frater was certainly her work, also the responds of the quire now standing.

Sir HERCULES READ referred to a phrase in the paper that seemed to imply the artistic inferiority of England in the Countess's day. A review of the surviving works dating from the period 1300-1375 would reveal a high standard, whether in seal-cutting, architecture, painting, miniature-painting, or carving. In all these branches England was quite up to the Continental standard, and flourished independently.

Sir WILLIAM ST. JOHN HOPE, Litt.D., D.C.L., exhibited photographs of a palatinate seal of John earl of Warrenne, Surrey, and Stratherne, recently discovered attached to a deed dated 1346 in the Public Record Office.¹

The seal is in dark green wax, and of unusually large size, being a trifle over 4 in. in diameter, a width equalled only by the contemporary great seals of the king. It was probably engraved in 1333.

The obverse shows the earl seated on a throne, similar in form to that on the first 'seal of absence' of King Edward III. The background, in allusion to the earl's name, depicts a warren or coney-garth.

The legend about the obverse, in large Lombardic capitals, seems to have been:

+SIGILLUM: IOHANNIS: COMITIS: W[AR]RENNI: ET:
STRATHERNII: ET: COMITIS: PALACII

but the first three words are gone.

¹ A full description has been published by Sir William Hope in the *Surrey Arch. Coll.*, vol. xxvii. 123. The Society is indebted to the Surrey Archaeological Society for the illustration of the seal reproduced.

The reverse of the seal shows the earl on horseback galloping at full speed to the right. The legend is :

[+] SIGILLUM : IOHANNIS : COMITIS WARENNIE : ET :
SURRE

The final words are broken away.

John de Warenne was the posthumous son of William de Warenne, only son and heir apparent of John de Warenne, Earl of Surrey, and of Joan his wife, daughter of Robert de Vere, Earl of Oxford. He was born in 1286, and in 1305 succeeded his grandfather as earl of Surrey and Sussex. He was created Earl of Stratherne in 1333 by Edward Balliol. As Stratherne was then a county palatine in Scotland, Earl John was able to assume the title he bears on his seal of *Comes Palatii*. There can also be little doubt that, on account of this last dignity, he caused to be engraved the remarkable seal under notice; and its close resemblance to the great seals of the king is due to the earl's quasi-regal jurisdiction in a county palatine.

Mr. W. A. LINDSAY was only able to summarize information he had collected with regard to Stratherne, and to some extent had already published in the *Charters of Inchaffray Abbey*. The creation of the Earl of Stratherne was an historical difficulty; and it was known that for eight years he was trying to get his marriage quashed at Rome, the idea being that a marriage in Scotland would entitle him to the earldom of Stratherne. The title was resigned to Balliol in perpetuity. The whole story was of interest especially now that a seal was produced that connected the Earl of Warrenne with Stratherne, the latter being a great dignity for so small a country as Scotland.

Mr. SALZMANN inquired whether the grain perceptible on the photograph of the seal was due to the matrix being of ivory.

Sir WILLIAM HOPE saw no reason to suppose it was anything but silver. The impression retained some finger-marks that were on the wax before the matrix was applied.

Sir HERCULES READ said the seal was a good specimen of fourteenth century art; and suggested that the seal if not of silver was more likely of morse than of elephant ivory.

Thanks were ordered to be returned for this communication and exhibition.

THURSDAY, 3rd DECEMBER, 1914.

Sir ARTHUR JOHN EVANS, Knt., D.Litt., F.R.S.,
President, in the Chair.

The following gifts were announced, and thanks for the same ordered to be returned to the donors:

From Wilfrid Hemp, Esq., F.S.A.:—*Cymmrodorion Record Series*, No. 7. A calendar of the public records relating to Pembrokeshire: Vol. ii, Cilgerran and Narberth. 8vo. London, 1914.

From the Author:—*Catalogue of the portraits in the Jamaica History Gallery of the Institute of Jamaica*. By Frank Cundall, F.S.A. 8vo. Kingston, Jamaica, 1914.

From Harold Sands, Esq., F.S.A.:—

1. Pen and pencil sketches of shipping and craft all round the world. By R. T. Pritchett. 8vo. London, 1899.
2. *The Stane Street*. By H. Belloc. 8vo. London, 1913.
3. *The Book of Kells*, described by Sir Edward Sullivan, Bart. fol. London, 1914.

From W. H. Quarrell, Esq., F.S.A.:—Engraved portrait of Archbishop Howley, F.S.A., after a painting by C. R. Leslie, R.A.

The following resolution was moved from the Chair and seconded by James George Wood, Esq., M.A., LL.B.:

‘That in the present circumstances it is desirable that the meetings of the Society should be held at five o’clock, until further order be taken by the Society.’

After discussion there voted: For the resolution, 12; against, 50. The resolution was therefore lost.

The PRESIDENT exhibited a copy of Benignus *De Natura Coelestium Spirituum* (Venice, 1499), dedicated by the author to the Senate of Ragusa. The title-page has an illuminated margin by the Florentine artist Attavante Attavanti, in the lower compartment of which is a picture of St. Biagio (St. Blaise) holding in his hand the town of Ragusa, of which he was patron.

The PRESIDENT also exhibited some coins of Ragusa dating from c. 1200, showing on the reverse St. Blaise.

W. PALEY BAILDON, Esq., F.S.A., exhibited a Leeds halfpenny with a figure of St. Blaise, issued by R. Paley in 1791.

H. LING ROTH, Esq., read the following paper on Bishop Blaise, Saint, Martyr, and Woolcombers' patron.

I.

The interest in Bishop Blaise centres in the fact that about one thousand years after his martyrdom he appears as adopted patron saint of the woolcombers, and this interest is enhanced by the fact that it is very uncertain why the woolcombers should have so honoured him.

Abroad where his cult still flourishes, although not as the woolcombers' patron, the literature about him is considerable. Ulysse Chevalier¹ gives the titles of thirty-seven works relating to him; his name is likewise not uncommon abroad, the same writer mentioning no less than sixteen of his namesakes, all more or less distinguished, who flourished in the Middle Ages. But in the British Isles, except in special encyclopaedias like the Rev. Alban Butler's *Lives of the Fathers and Martyrs and other Principal Saints* or some art publications like Mrs. Arthur Bell's *Saints in Christian Art* (Lond. 1902), little has been done to popularize his cult. Even in the five English parishes whereof he is patron saint, with one exception, we find little is known of him and less said. According to a recent student, Cahier,² he was patron of Comiso in Sicily, of Cività di Penne in Naples, of Ragusa, and of Mülhausen in Thuringia; he was patron saint of woolcombers, weavers, builders, and masons; he was the saint who gave protection against wild animals and cured throat complaints; and finally he was patron saint of swine. This enumeration does not exhaust the list of the bishop's activities. He was patron saint of many more places and churches than are mentioned by Cahier—to these I shall refer later on. To the patronage of the builders and masons must be added that of the carpenters, for A. Forgeais has recorded the existence of a lead token dated A.D. 1410 on which St. Blaise is so described.³ The Rev. H. Hamilton-Jackson, vicar of Milton, Berks., informs me that in Italy, at Subiaco, above the Sacro Speco of St. Benedict is the little chapel of St. Biagio,⁴ the remains of one of the twelve monasteries founded by St. Benedict, where to this day St. Blaise is invoked whenever a storm rages in the valley.

According to Monsignor J. P. Kirsch, Professor of Patrology

¹ *Répertoire des Sources hist. du moyen âge*, Paris, 1905.

² *Caractéristiques des Saints*, Paris, 1867, ii. 6 sq.

³ *Coll. de Plombs Historiés*, 1^{re} sér., Méreaux des Corporations de Métiers, Paris, 1862, pp. 53, 55.

⁴ The present Italian form of the name changed from Blasius to Biasio to Biagio.

and Christian Archaeology, Fribourg University, Switzerland, writing in the *Catholic Encyclopaedia*, New York, 'In some places on the day of his feast the blessing of S. Blasius is given: two candles are consecrated, generally by a prayer, these are then held in a cross position by a priest over the heads of the faithful or the



Fig. 1. SAN BIAGIO, VESCOVO E MARTIRE. ST. BLAISE HEALING THE WIDOW'S SON.

From a coloured card issued in Rome in 1898.

people are touched on the throat with them. In other places oil is consecrated in which the wick of a small candle is dipped and the throats of those present are touched with the wick. At the same time the following blessing is given: "*Per intercessionem S. Blasii liberet te Deus a malo gutturis et a quovis alio malo* (May God at the intercession of St. Blaise preserve you from throat troubles and every other evil)." In some dioceses is added

in nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti and the priest makes the sign of the cross over the faithful.

In the church of S. Carlo di Catinari in Rome the ring of St. Blaise is kept in a fine reliquary, and on February 3rd, his feast day, those who suffer from any throat affection have their throats touched with the ring.

St. Blaise is one of the Fourteen Holy Martyrs to whom in the Latin Church prayers may be addressed for intercession against various forms of illness, etc. Medals and cards depicting him in the company of his thirteen fellow saints are issued occasionally in Germany and are not by any means uncommon.

That the general cult of the bishop was well established in England in the Middle Ages may be surmised from the fact that the Council of Oxford in 1222 forbade all work on the day of his festival.¹ His importance in some places survived the Reformation. As is well known, events used to be fixed by means of the Church festivals or feast days of the saints. In Bankfield Museum, Halifax, there is the probate of the will of Jonas Dene of Thornton, Yorks., dated 6 December, 1651, wherein it is ordered that the inventory of his effects be exhibited on the second day after the feast of St. Blaise, i. e. on the 5th February (1652), which is the feast day of St. Agatha, a by no means unimportant lady. If St. Blaise was allowed, so to speak, to usurp her day, it is probably certain that in the popular mind he was of more importance than she was. Soon after this date he appears to have dropped from his high position, for he gets mentioned in Reginald Scott's *Discoverie of Witchcraft* (Lond. 1665), although from the Church point of view it was still quite correct to 'call upon God and remember St. Blaise' when, as stated by Scott, one wanted a thorn fetching out of one's body or a bone out of one's throat. Later still, Dr. Percy states² that on the bishop's anniversary it was the custom in many parts of England to light fires on the hills, a custom anciently taken up perhaps for no better reason than the jingling resemblance of his name to the word *blaze*! (Dr. Percy spells it St. Blayes' Day.) While Minsheu, under the word Hocke-tide, speaks of 'S. Blaze his day, about Candlemas, when country women goe about and make good cheere, and if they find any of their neighbour women a spinning that day, they burne and make a blaze of fire of the distaffe, and thereof called S. Blaze his day'.³ Evidently the *raison d'être* of the feast day had been wholly forgotten.

Towards the end of the eighteenth century, when the cult of

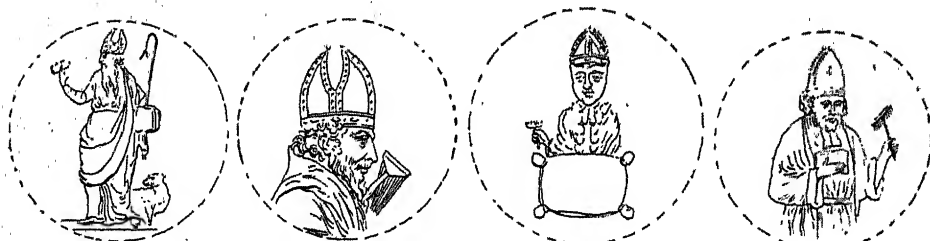
¹ *Encycl. Brit.*, 11th ed., i, p. 29.

² *Northumberland Household Book*, London, 1770, pp. 333 and 435.

³ Quoted by Brand and Hazlitt, *Popular Antiquities*, London, 1870.

the bishop, as woolcombers' patron, was at its height, tokens were issued by the wool traders on which their patron appeared (fig. 2).

In the East there was an order of knighthood known as that of St. Blaise and St. Mary (*not* St. Blaise only) for the 'upholding of the Catholic Religion. The cursed Megaera, who was then rising from dark Avernus (tossing the poisonous snakes of her hair and vomiting the damnable dogmas of reprobate heresy which was infesting men of the purest minds), gave the occasion for these knights, divided into two bodies, but united in spirit, the one consisting of Warriors and the other of Religious, to destroy within a short time by their incessant efforts the wicked



Leeds (1791), Macclesfield (1792), and Liverpool.

Leeds (1793).

Guildford.

Exeter (1792) and Shrewsbury (1793).

Fig. 2. TOKENS WITH HEAD AND FIGURE OF ST. BLAISE (†).

From originals in the Bankfield Museum.

sect of these Heresiarchs,' as we are told by Bernardo Giustiniani, writing in Venice in 1692.¹ The order is said to have been instituted about the same time as the foundation of the Knights Templars, A.D. 1118. The Knights of St. Blaise and S. Mary fought under the rules of St. Basil, and they elected their Master in the same form as that practised by the Knights of St. John of Jerusalem. An earlier writer, André Favyn,² ascribes its foundation to the distinguished House of Lusignan when it held jurisdiction over the town of Acre and its sons were kings of Armenia. The Lusignans, originally the House of Poitou, in France, held sway in Cyprus, but De Mas-Latrie in his cele-

¹ *Hist. gen. dell' Orig. degl' Ord. Milit. e di tutte le Religioni cavalleresche.*

² *Le Théâtre d'Honneur et de Chevalerie, ou l'Hist. des Ordres Milit.,* Paris, 1620.

brated work on that island does not appear to make any reference to the order. Giustiniani says the sphere of the Knights' work was Palestine. No mention is made anywhere as to how long the order lasted.



Fig. 3. ST. BLAISE. From an illumination *temp.* Henry VII, Brit. Mus. Kings 9 f. v. 47 b.

II.

In discussing the particulars of the life or rather martyrdom of St. Blaise, or indeed those of any saint, it is as well to bear in mind a remark made by the French Church historian, Tillemont, who reminds us that 'the death of the saints is the greatest and

most certain fact in their history, while their earlier life is almost always obscure'.¹

A careful search for any reference to St. Blaise in the *Martyrology* of St. Jerome (A.D. 592-600), either in the 1480 edition² or other editions including Migne's *Patrologia*, establishes the fact that the bishop is not mentioned there. Though the result is thus negative, it is not necessarily unimportant. Jerome's work is the earliest extant martyrology and source of all later martyrologies.³ It has further the advantage of being founded on sources contemporary or nearly so with the fourth century. Hence Jerome's omission, if taken as significant, casts a doubt on the truth of all details relating to St. Blaise's life and martyrdom. Negative evidence, however disconcerting, is rarely final, and we have to look elsewhere for the first account of the legend of the bishop.

The next great collator and illustrator was Symeon Metaphrastes, a tenth-century writer. Many critics do not consider Metaphrastes an accurate author, but Migne in his introduction states that his investigations into Metaphrastes's work do not support the critics' contentions. Practically until the documents are forthcoming upon which Metaphrastes relied and prove the contrary, we may take it that so far as his account of St. Blaise is concerned that account is sufficiently reliable for our purposes.

Metaphrastes's hagiology was translated into Latin in 1570 by the Franciscan monk Francis Lawrence Surius, and after this date when St. Blaise is mentioned the quotation is generally from this translation, in which Surius has kept well to the Greek text. There is an abridged account in the *Golden Legend* of Jacobus de Voragine (Lübeck, 1570), which is also much used by later writers.

The following is a free translation of Metaphrastes's account of Bishop Blaise and some of his disciples from the Greek text in Migne's *Patrologia* (Paris, 1864), made for me by Mr. Arthur Redford, Bradford Scholar in the University of Manchester:

"At the time when the worship of images flourished, and all men bowed down to idols and things made with hands, then flourished also the faith of all God's holy ones, and among them the faith also of the holy and glorious martyr Blasius. For this holy and revered man, Blasius, lived throughout a gentle and blameless life; as it is written in Job, 'he was without evil,

¹ *Mém. pour servir à l'Hist. ecclés.* quoted by Ethel Ross Barker: *Rome of the Pilgrims and Martyrs*, London, 1913, p. 128.

² John Rylands Library, Manchester.

³ Barker, *op. cit.*, p. 206.

without blame, true, dutiful and pious, refraining from every evil work'.

Wherefore on account of his pure life in which there was nothing to be condemned, the faithful in the city of Sebaste in Kappadocia made him a bishop. But he went forth to the mountain called Argeus and dwelt in a cave to which wild beasts used to come and be blest by him. It happened that if any of them arrived in the course of his meditation, as if endowed with reason, they waited at the cave and did not retire until he placed his hand upon them.

In those days the governor, Agricolaus, gave orders that every kind of animal should be captured so that the existing saints should fight with them and be destroyed by them as martyrs. Now the hunters went forth into the mountain called Argeus in which the holy and venerable bishop Blaise was lying hid, but as they approached the cave and saw at its entry a multitude of wild animals standing about they said amongst themselves, 'What meaneth this?' When they came nearer they found St. Blaise within the cave sitting as in a chamber and apportioning to each animal what it had need of by means of benedictions and cures and pouring forth prayers to God. They thereupon returned and announced to the governor Agricolaus what they had seen, but the governor ordered several soldiers to go forth with them so that they might bring him any Christians lurking there. So the soldiers who had been sent went to the mountain: when they entered the cave they found only the saint praying and praising the Lord.

They said to him, 'Come forth, the governor calls thee'. When St. Blaise saw them he rejoiced greatly, and said: 'Come, let us go at once, brethren, for the Lord is mindful of me. Thus he has appeared three times to me saying: "Rise, offer sacrifices to me after the manner of thy priesthood." Now, therefore, brethren, you are welcome. Jesus Christ my Lord be with you.'

Now as they went forth these Gentiles were converted on the way to the knowledge of God by his gentleness and teaching. Moreover, the Lord caused cures to be effected at his prayers, and when the sick were brought to him he laid his hands upon them and sent them away healed. And he not only cured men but also cattle and beasts. So that when it happened that any one swallowed a bone or anything of that sort, they quickly brought the sufferer to the bishop, and Blaise by his holy prayers immediately made him whole again.

It happened that while the only son of a certain woman was eating some fish he suddenly swallowed a bone and became mute. The boy's mother when she heard of this saint brought the boy and laid him at his feet half dead, and weeping said to the saint:

'Have mercy on my son, O servant of our Lord Jesus Christ, for he is my only son,' and she related to the saint what had suddenly happened to him. But the great and holy priest of God, Blaise, having laid his hand on the boy's throat, raised his eyes to heaven and calling upon God: 'O Lord, who art a present help to those who call upon Thee in truth, cure this boy, taking away by Thy power the bone which is fixed [in his throat], and in time to come when anything like this happens, whether to men, children or beasts, some one will call to Thee in remembrance of my name, saying, O God, through the intercession of Thy servant Blasius, bring speedy help; make here a speedy cure to the honour and glory of Thy Holy name,' immediately made the boy as he was before, and restored him to his mother, praising and glorifying God for ever. Therefore men gave great honour to Blaise, bishop and martyr, not only in Sebaste, but also in Nikopolis. For he was skilled in the science of healing.

As the saint was going on a journey it happened that the pig of a poor woman, who only had this one pig and nothing more, was carried off by a wolf. Now the woman, who was one of the faithful, approached the holy martyr to aid her against the wild beast. But the holy priest of Christ and martyr Blaise, smiling, said to her: 'Be not sad, O woman, nor weep, for thy pig shall be restored to thee alive and uninjured.'

When the saint arrived at the metropolis, Sebaste, the governor Agricolaus ordered him to be cast into prison. The following day, the governor, sitting on the judgement seat, ordered St. Blaise to be brought before him. When St. Blaise stood before him, the governor, seeing him, began at first to flatter him, and greeted him, saying, 'Hail, dearest Blaise, friend of the gods and our friend'. But St. Blaise said unto him, 'Hail to thee also, O excellent governor. Do not call these gods though, but evil demons, who shall forsooth be delivered to eternal fire, together with those who worship them.' The governor, angered by these words, ordered him to be beaten with sticks. For many hours Blaise, the martyr of Christ, was beaten, and he said to the governor, 'O thou who art endowed with no sense, and thou deceiver of souls! Thinkest thou that thy tortures will induce me to abstain from confessing my God? But thou art not able, for I possess Jesus Christ who strengthens me. For the rest do what thou wilt.' Now when the impious governor could not draw him away from the faith he ordered him to be led back to prison.

But when the pious and venerable widow had observed the patience of the martyr and the constancy of his faith, she killed the pig, which she had recovered from the wild beast at the holy martyr's bidding, and cooked its head and feet and put them

into a basket with some grain of the earth and fruit and other things out of her narrow means. She lighted candles and brought all these things to the holy martyr in prison, and casting them at his feet prayed him to partake of them. The saint having returned thanks and partaken, blessed her and charged her, saying, 'Woman, in this manner make remembrance of me, through my God thy house shall lack no good thing. If any one imitating thee in this shall make remembrance of me he shall have a perpetual gift from my God and a blessing all the days of his life.' And this blessed and venerable woman, having been thus exhorted by the holy martyr Blaise, went away joyful to her home, praising God. In her was fulfilled the Scripture which saith, 'That which she hath done shall be told everywhere in memory of her'.

But the tyrant, for the second time sitting on the judgement seat, ordered the martyr of God to be brought in before him, and when he was brought in the governor said unto him, 'Bishop Blaise, will you not sacrifice to the gods, or do you wish to perish miserably?' St. Blaise said, 'Perish the gods who have not made heaven and earth. The death you threaten me with will gain for me eternal life.' Now the governor, when he saw his faith was immutable, ordered him to be suspended from a beam and to be violently flogged. And when God's martyr, Blaise, had been scourged for a long time he said to the governor, 'O impious and unjust man. Do you think you can frighten me with blows? I possess Jesus Christ who strengthens me. I do not fear the things that seem to you to be tortures, seeing that I have regard to the good things which are expected and promised to those who seek Him.' Then the governor ordered him to be taken down from the beam and cast into prison again.

Now while the holy martyr Blaise was being led away to prison, behold some pious god-fearing women followed him, and receiving the blood which flowed from him anointed themselves therewith. When the lictors saw them they apprehended them and led them to the governor, saying, 'These also are Christians'. When the governor saw them he said unto them, 'Be persuaded and sacrifice to the gods, so that you may win great honours from me'. But these worthy and holy women answered and said unto him, 'If thou wishest, O governor, that we should sacrifice to thy gods, let us go to the lake side, and do thou put thy gods into a sack and seal them up with lead, and we, when we shall have washed our faces in the lake, will draw near and sacrifice to them'. The governor rejoiced at these words. He brought forth his gods to them, but the women took the gods and cast them into the depths of the lake.

When the governor saw this he was furious, and, roaring loudly

as a lion and clapping his hands, he was exceeding angry with the soldiers and said unto them, 'O worst of servants, why did you not hold the gods that they might not be cast into the depths of the lake'. The soldiers answered and said to the governor, 'O excellent governor, these women have spoken craftily and drowned thy gods. We did not know their guile and did not restrain them.' For these holy and worthy women said, 'The true God is not deceived by a trick, but deaf pieces of wood and stones, and gold and silver, and all who trust in them can be tricked'. Then the governor, moved with fury, ordered a very hot furnace to be kindled, and lead to be melted, and iron combs to be brought, and seven brazen plates to be made hot, and he ordered a sumptuous cloth to be laid in another spot. He said to the holy women, 'Choose ye one of two things. Either adore and sacrifice to the gods and save your lives by walking on that cloth, or, if you be unwilling, suffer the tortures which are being prepared for you.' But one of them who had two boys seized the cloth and cast it into the furnace and burnt it, and the boys said to their mother, 'O saintly mother, do not suffer us to perish in this land, but as thou hast nourished with thy most delicious and sweetest milk, so now fill us also with the Kingdom of Heaven'.

Thereupon the governor ordered them to be suspended and their flesh to be torn with iron combs; but the soldiers saw milk instead of blood flow from their wounds, and, moreover, their flesh appeared as white as snow. When the angels who had descended from heaven had healed the wounds, they said unto the women, 'Fear not, for the good labourer, when he has begun and finished his work in the heat of the day and shall have received from his Lord His blessing and reward, goeth away joyfully to his home, so ye also strive that ye may receive life eternal which never ceases from our Saviour Jesus Christ'. Then the governor ordered them to be laid in the furnace, but when they had been so laid the fire immediately expired, and the holy women were cast forth from the furnace uninjured and whole. Then the governor said to them, 'Throw away your magic tricks, approach and sacrifice to my gods'. But the holy women, as it were, with one voice answered, 'Let it not seem good to thee, O son of the devil, that we leave our Lord Jesus Christ and adore stones and blocks of wood which are deaf and without sense as thou art. Henceforth do what thou wilt, for we are summoned to the Kingdom of Heaven.' Then the governor, moved with anger, pronounced sentence upon them, and the lictors taking them led them to their appointed place of execution.

When the seven women came to the place where they were to

suffer, they begged the lictors, saying, 'Grant us that we may pray for a little space,' and kneeling on the ground they spake thus: 'Glory to Thee, our great and glorious God, glory to Thee, O Christ, Who reigns for ever, Who hast called us unto the way of Thy goodness, for who is as great as Thou, our God, Who hast made us leave darkness and hast called us to the true and most blessed light? Wherefore, we beseech Thee, O Lord, number us with Thy first martyr and receive the intercession of our most holy Father and Shepherd Blaise, who has led us to this truth and to the fruition of eternal life.' When the holy women had thus prayed they arose from the ground, and they raised hands and eyes to heaven and prayed to God with pure hearts and with one accord, 'Glory to Thee, O Lord our God, Who hast deemed us worthy to lie upon this Thine altar, like spotless lambs and eloquent witnesses: now also raise up our souls as Thou art good and kindly to Thine heavenly altar'. The boys approached their mother and said to her, 'Mother, crowns are prepared for us in heaven. Commend us therefore to the most strong and holy champion of Christ, our bishop and good shepherd, Blaise, him that is famous in story.' Then the executioner struck off the heads of the seven holy women, and they died in the Lord in the month of February.

After this the governor ordered St. Blaise to be brought from prison; when he had been brought the governor said to him, 'Wilt thou sacrifice to my gods now or not?' Then St. Blaise said to him, 'Unhappy man, that art blind and dost not see the true light! What man who has ever known the living God will sacrifice to lifeless images, or worship them? Thou, therefore, that art in darkness and art evil, know thou that the living God has rejected thee, and thou art worshipping stocks and stones that have no understanding. But I do not fear thy threats. So torture me as thou wilt. I surrender to thee my flesh; God alone has power over my soul.'

Then the governor said to the saint, 'If I throw thee into the lake, what will then avail thee this Christus of whom thou speakest and whom thou worshippingest?' St. Blaise said, 'O thou that art blind and void of understanding, thou worshippingest lifeless blocks and thinkest thou art saved. But I worship the living Christ, and shall I not show thee the might of my God in the water?'

Then the governor ordered him to be cast into the lake. But the saint interposed and sealed up the water, which immediately stood still as if it had been a bridge. Then St. Blaise, sitting in the midst of the lake, said to the guards, 'If you have gods, show now their powers and come ye also here to me'. And immediately sixty-eight men went in to him; but they were

drowned at the bottom of the lake. Then the angel of the Lord came to the saint from above, and said to him: 'Priest of God, that art full of grace and pure of soul, come forth from the water and receive the eternal crown prepared for thee by God.' Holy Blaise, having risen from the water as though he were walking upon land, came forth, and his face shone as a light so that those who saw him marvelled, but the governor said unto him: 'So thou art determined, O unhappy man, not to sacrifice to the gods?' Holy Blaise answered: 'Know, tyrant, that I am the servant of Christ and will never do sacrifice to the evil demons.' Whereupon the governor, moved with wrath, pronounced sentence on him, saying: 'Blaise, who has not obeyed me and has despised the emperor and insulted the gods and has destroyed sixty-eight men, shall be beheaded by the sword together with the two boys.' When the sentence had been pronounced and the Saint had come to the place appointed, he stood and prayed to God: 'Lord God of Might, Who hast delivered me from idols, Who hast turned the darkness into light, and error into truth, Who sittest above the cherubim and openest the fountains of the heavens, Who stretchest Thy bow in Thy hand, Who hast brought low and abject the Devil and transfixed the serpent, hear me, Thy servant, and whoever shall come to this Thine altar of sacrifice, whether he has swallowed a fish-bone or other kind of bone, or is troubled with various diseases; or if he is in grief or in the stress of persecution, grant the petition of each man's heart, O Lord, as Thou art good and merciful; to those who year by year keep my memory green with psalms and hymns and to those who are mindful of the poor do thou give a reward in heaven, and life everlasting. May Thy name be honoured now and for ever and ever, Amen.'

When he had thus prayed, Christ descended from heaven like a cloud, and enveloped him about, and the Saviour said to him: 'I will grant all their petitions for thy sake, my chosen champion. And not this only, but I will do as thou hast prayed for the widow, and I will bless every home which celebrates thy memory, and I will replenish their store cupboards with all good things because of thy mighty testimony and of the faith which thou hast in me.' Before the Lord said these words to his martyr the executioner had led St. Blaise with the two boys out from the place of judgement; he now struck off their heads, in the city of Sebaste, within the walls on a high rock, on the 11th of the month of February. Faithful and dutiful men laid him to rest in that same place where even to-day many cures are wrought to the glory of God.

Now when the pious and venerable woman had received news of the end of the blessed martyr Blaise, she celebrated his

memory with that rite which she (?) celebrated in prison, and not only sent to her relations peace-offerings from the seed of the land and other things, but also to all her friends. They in their turn, following her example, again at the same time sent back gifts not only to the faithful widow, but also to all their relations and friends. Whence also has been handed down this good example to the present day by all who faithfully celebrate the venerated memory of the holy martyr Blaise with torches and hymns and great feastings to the glory of almighty God and of our Lord Jesus Christ, who is held in honour among the faithful ones: to whom and the Holy Ghost be glory and power, now and always, for ever and ever. Amen."

The date of St. Blaise's martyrdom cannot be determined with any exactitude: the authorities given in the *Acta Sanctorum*¹ serve to confuse rather than illuminate. They give dates ranging from A.D. 287 to A.D. 316. It must be remembered that all these dates are traditional, and have no claim to historical accuracy. Some of the most considerable authorities say that Blaise suffered in A.D. 316 under Licinius. For instance, Cardinal Baronius, in his *Annales Ecclesiastici*,² says that forty martyrs suffered at Sebaste on the 9th March. But it appears that St. Blaise, bishop of the same city Sebaste attained the crown before them; for he *is said* to have suffered martyrdom one month and six days previously, on the 3rd February at the same place, and also under the same governor, Agricolaus. The same confusion arises also about the day of the month on which Blaise was martyred. Besides the 3rd February thus given by Baronius and kept by the Latin Church, the *Acta Sanctorum*³ gives authorities for other dates. The Greek Menology gives 11th February, and the Greek Church keeps that date. But many Latin martyrologies (continue the *Acta*) give 15th February. These *days*, like the dates, are purely traditional.

It may not be out of place here to note the existence of two other saints known as St. Blaise, both recorded in the *Acta Sanctorum* under 3rd February, viz. St. Blasius of Caesarea and St. Blasius of Oreto, Spain.⁴ The former remained unharmed after five days boiling, and when the judge applied the water to his own face it killed him. St. Blaise then returned to his friends, taught them assiduously, and died ultimately in peace. His soul was seen departing in the form of a dove and his crook began to sprout. The other St. Blasius, Bishop of Oreto, in

¹ Feb. vol. i, p. 335.

² 1588-1607, tome 3, under the year A.D. 316, § xlv.

³ Feb. vol. i, p. 335.

⁴ Feb. vol. i, pp. 324-57.

Spain, a town which does not exist now, died in the reign of Nero as one of the martyrs of Cifuentes, where he was also buried. Many churches have been built in his honour and his head is shown both in Lerma and in Toledo; hence, as it is quaintly put by Zedler,¹ in both places there can only be a part of his head, or one of the heads must belong to another saint!

Such variation of legends, if it refers to one and the same martyr, induces a writer in *Notes and Queries*² to suggest the idea that the cult of Blasius was founded upon that of a deity in Cappadocia whose rites and attributes may have varied in different localities. As regards the transfer of the cult of a heathen god to a Christian deity we have the case of the restorative well at the foot of the Acropolis: 'where Asklepios used to work his miracles the Virgin now heals the sick'.³

III.

From what has been said it will be clear that abroad numerous churches have been dedicated to St. Blaise, and it will not be uninteresting to the English reader to hear something about them as well as about those churches similarly dedicated on this side of the Channel.

Abroad, besides the churches dedicated to our Saint, there are some villages named after him, but not in themselves interesting enough to be mentioned by Baedeker. On the extreme north of Lake Neuchâtel is situated a village known as Celier, or St. Blaise. On the river Meurthe, in France, between Lunéville and St. Dié, near the frontier, there is a village also called St. Blaise; and within a few miles, on the Breusch, but in Germany, about nine kilometres north-east of Weiler and about five north of Saales, we have the village of St. Blaise-Poutay, or St. Blaise-la-Roche. Of churches of which St. Blaise is patron there is no end: Comiso in Sicily, Cività di Penne in Naples, St. Biagio in Venice, St. Biagio della Pagnotta in Rome, and so on; St. Blasius in Mülhausen, once a monastery between Gotha and Eisenach in Saxony, St. Blasius in Nordhausen close by. Then there is the well-known sanatorium St. Blasien, near Waldshut, in the Hercynian or Black Forest, once a Benedictine abbey. The Benedictines of St. Blasien were in their day a powerful and wealthy body. Their abbots took rank as princes of the Holy Roman Empire, and as princes had to contribute their quota of men and horses for its wars. No fewer than thirty-six parishes were subjected to their rule. 'When Austria evacuated the

¹ Grosse, *Universal-Lexicon*, Halle and Leipzig, 1733.

² 1st Ser. i, 325.

³ Mrs. R. C. Bosanquet, *Days in Attica*, London, 1914, p. 162.

country an immense quantity of valuables travelled from the Alb to the Danube, including a solid silver statue of St. Blasius, a precious monstrance said to be worth £20,000, and no end of rare codices and manuscripts, amongst them one of the elder Pliny. Of such literary treasures St. Blasien in its day possessed great store. For it was at one time the foremost seat of learning in Germany. . . . There was not a university in Germany to which it did not send some learned professors. One of its abbots was the learned Mgr. Gerbert, the author of the first *History of the Black Forest* (*Historia Silvæ Nigræ*).¹ The monastery building was turned into a factory for breech-loaders and is now a cotton factory. The body of St. Blasius is said not to have been brought here until about the year 900, although the monks had settled as early as 750.¹ According to Henricus Pantaleon,² in the spot indicated, 'immediately after the time of Diocletian, about the year 300 A.D., certain Christian refugees met and worshipped God, living the life of anchorites. When St. Blaise, head of the Church in Cappadocia and martyr under Licinius Caesar in the year 312, had appeared to them and exhorted them to follow their calling with constancy, they named their dwelling after his name.' This account, however, is not accepted by many authorities. Pantaleon goes on to say that the monastery was made an abbey by Reginbertus, a friend of Otto I, in the year 945, and that Beringus was the first abbot. Another monastery dedicated to St. Blaise was at Nordheim, in the diocese of Mainz, founded about 1573. The site of the springs of some mineral waters between Tübingen and Reutlingen in Württemberg, which became known about 1470, was also dedicated to the bishop.

The celebrated city and fortress of Ragusa in Dalmatia, on the Adriatic, is by a long way the most important seat of the cult of St. Blaise, or St. Biagio as he is known there. According to Sir T. G. Jackson, who made a considerable study of the city and published the results in a volume entitled *Dalmatia*,³ Ragusa may have been founded so far back as A.D. 265, and the cathedral church of St. Blaise was founded in 1348 and rebuilt in 1706-15 (ii, pp. 315-16). Jackson examined the St. Blaise relics in the cathedral there; they consist of a hand preserved in gold enamel set with precious stones, a foot preserved in gold filigree, and a skull or part of a skull contained in a beautiful gold casket, the date of which he found to be 1694, although made up of parts of a still earlier receptacle.⁴ There

¹ H. W. Wolff, *Rambles in the Black Forest*, London, 1890, pp. 311-12.

² *Acta Sanctorum*. Feb. vol. i, p. 337.

³ Oxford, 1887, 3 vols. (ii, p. 287).

⁴ *Ibid.* (ii, p. 354).

are two portraits of St. Blaise on the panels of the casket. We have two legends as regards the appearance of St. Blaise at Ragusa. One is to the effect that at Ragusa there was a Latin colony whose patron saint (or, as we should rather say, god) was Bacchus, and a Slav colony whose patron saint was Sergius. When the two colonies amalgamated, neither would accept the patron saint of the other, and a fresh one, St. Blaise, was chosen.¹ For the other legend there are two variants, and they both relate to the appearance of St. Blaise about the year 971, when the Venetians made an unsuccessful attack on the city. According to Serafino Razzi, quoted by Luigi Villari,² the 'Venetian fleet designed to capture Ragusa by treachery, but the plot was revealed to a priest, who thus relates his vision: "I was in the church of St. Stephan at midnight, at prayer, when methinks I saw the whole fane filled with armed men. And in the midst I saw an old man with a long white beard holding a staff in his hand. Having called me aside, he told me that he was San Biagio, and had been sent by Heaven to defend this city. He told me further that the Venetians had come up to the walls to scale them, using the masts of their ships as ladders, but he, with a company of heavenly soldiers, had driven back the enemy; but he desired that in future the Ragusans should defend themselves, and never trust armed neighbours.'" The variant is that a pilgrim came from Armenia to Ragusa bearing with him the head of St. Blaise; that the saint had appeared to this man in a dream, telling him to warn the inhabitants of an impending attack by the Venetians; and the Ragusans, who, through this timely warning, were able to save the city, in gratitude appointed the saint to be their patron.³

Now as to the English churches dedicated to St. Blaise: St. Blazey, near St. Austell, Cornwall, is not mentioned in Domesday Book. According to the Rev. J. Bartlett, a former vicar,⁴ 'it is probable that St. Blazey obtained its present name soon after 1294, for in the year 1244 the Council of Lyons, under Pope Innocent IV, instituted certain new festivals for the commemoration of canonized saints, and in that year caused Bishop Blaise to be canonized. . . . When the church was built it was dedicated to St. Blaise, and the parish has since that time been known by its present name.'

The present vicar, the Rev. D. Scott, informs me that the wool industry was removed from St. Blazey to Liskeard many years

¹ F. Hamilton-Jackson, *The Shores of the Adriatic*, London, 1908, p. 338.

² *The Republic of Ragusa*, London.

³ M. M. Holbach, *Dalmatia*, London, 1908, p. 140.

⁴ Bartlett, *History of the Parish of St. Blazey*, 1856, pp. 10, 11.

ago. He has never heard of any procession on St. Blaise's Day, but naturally the feast of the patron saint is kept as is that of the patron saint in almost every church. The only fragment of ancient glass in the church represents St. Blaise as a pilgrim; the modern windows show him with cope, mitre, etc., and as being combed to death.

At St. Blaise, near Newton Abbot, Devon, there are amongst the old bits of glass in the windows representations of two bishops, but without distinguishing emblems. In a modern window (? 1850) St. Blaise is shown with an instrument like a coarse rake held against his breast. There appears to be no local knowledge of St. Blaise as patron of the woolcombers.

The Priory church of St. Mary and St. Blaise, Boxgrove, near Chichester, was built in 1117-20. There is only a bad modern window representing the bishop. Old residents remember a fair being held on the 3rd February, but there is nothing to show any connexion between the saint and the woolcombers, nor is there any record of woolcombers' processions.

The church of St. Blaise at Milton, Berks., is, as I am informed by the rector, the Rev. H. Hamilton-Jackson, of fourteenth-century date. There is no ancient representation of the bishop in the windows, but a fragment of glass, let into a window in the vestry, shows the woolstaplers' mark.

Miss Arnold-Forster¹ mentions St. Blaise's Well at Bromley, Kent, so called from a long-vanished chapel in honour of the saint. This chapel is supposed to have been built by some bishop of Rochester for his own private use in what was then the garden belonging to the episcopal palace.²

IV.

In much the same way as other saints were adopted as patron saints of various handicrafts, so too was St. Blaise, until he settled down as patron saint of woolcombers only.

In the Middle Ages it was the custom of the Trade Guilds to keep the festival of their patron saints by annual processions and attendance at mass on their respective saint's day. The processions were known as pageants. How far back these trade pageants go it is not now possible to ascertain. In the case of the Bury (Suffolk) craft guild, which contained both linen and

¹ *Studies in Church Dedications.*

² As regards the frequently mentioned demolished church at Henbury, Gloucestershire, said to have been dedicated to St. Blaise, Mr. J. G. Wood, F.S.A., informs me that there never was such a dedication, the error having arisen through confusion with Bishop William of Blois or Bleys of Worcester.

woollen weavers, the ceremony goes back a long way, as according to a fifteenth-century record half the fines to be inflicted were assigned 'to the maintenance of the pageant of the Ascension of our Lord God, and the gifts of the Holy Ghost as it has been customed of the old time out of mind yearly to be had to the worship of God among other pageants in the feast of Corpus Christi'.¹ The pageant of the clothmakers' guild of Worcester likewise took place on Corpus Christi day in the middle of the fifteenth century, and mention is made that in 1467 and 1497 there were complaints that the pageants were not properly kept up. 'In 1522 every journeyman and master weaver was bidden to meet at the house of the Friars Preachers and march with the walkers [fullers] to the cathedral. There they met afterwards to settle up accounts and elect the new master and wardens. Four times a year they attended a dirge and mass of requiem, and from them to a drynking if any be ordeyned.'² In Winchester in 1437 there was a great display of crafts, including weavers, fullers, and dyers on Corpus Christi day. In Northampton in 1431 there was an ordinance 'that all the masters and journeymen shall every year on the Monday after Easter Day go honestly with their tapers of wax as of ancient time to the house of St. Mary de la Pré, beside Northampton, to offer up their said tapers before the Image of the Trinity and of our Lady, and afterwards to hold their customary drinking and communication together, and to choose the same day two masters of the English householders as masters of the said craft and masters of the journeymen, etc.'³ In Warwickshire the journeymen had to subscribe to the lamp in St. George's Chapel, Gosford-Gate, Coventry, and contribute fourpence a year to the masters' pageant.⁴

In the above records, although as already mentioned there was a general cult of St. Blaise, there is no reference to any special connexion between the clothiers, weavers, or combers and the Bishop. If the transition from a general to a special cult was in progress such references may yet be found, and there appears to be one in so far as Norwich is concerned, where the weaving trade seems to have been more progressive and intensive than elsewhere. The anonymous author of the *Hist. of the City and County of Norwich*,⁵ speaking of the year 1531, says: 'At this time was settled the order of the procession of the crafts or companies, to be made on Corpus Christi day, from the common hall, by Cutler Row, and so round the market to the hall again, and at all other times, when the companies were summoned to attend the court.' He enumerates the feast days of those who

¹ *V. C. H. Suffolk*, ii, p. 256.

² *V. C. H. Worcester*, ii, p. 285.

³ *V. C. H. Northants*, ii, p. 332.

⁴ *V. C. H. Warwickshire*, ii, p. 251.

⁵ *Norwich*, 1768, pp. 175-7.

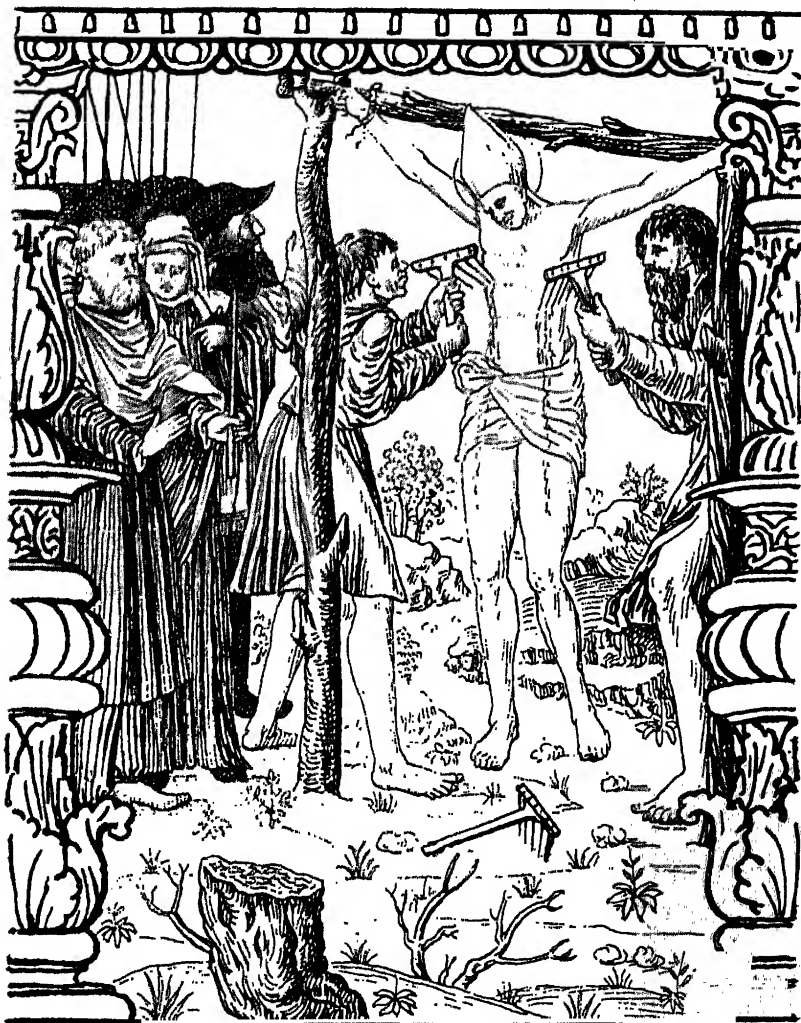


Fig. 4. MARTYRDOM OF ST. BLAISE. From an early sixteenth-century Italian Miniature. Brit. Mus. Add. MSS. 35254 M. No. 8.

had their own guild, and adds: 'The combers, tinmen, etc. with their banner. Guild on the third day of February, being Bishop Blaise's day.' The other guilds mentioned are 'the sheermen (or cloth cutters), fullers, woollen and linen weavers and wool chapmen with their two banners; Guild 11th Sunday after Trinity'. Coverlet and darnick weavers, 7th Sunday after Trinity; tailors, broiderers, hosiers and skimmers, 3rd Sunday after Trinity; worsted weavers and 'irlonderes' on Whitsunday; mercers, drapers, scriveners, and hardwaremen, Corpus Christi day; goldsmiths, Sunday after St. Luke; carpenters, 12th Sunday after Trinity; reeders, thaxters, etc., Sunday before Christmas. The combers and tinmen are strange company to share the same patron saint, and so are the drapers, scriveners, and hardwaremen, whose joint feast was on Corpus Christi day. It tends to indicate that the choice of a patron saint was quite arbitrary.

If, as we find, the woolcombers were later on, i.e. in the eighteenth century, in the habit of celebrating the festival of St. Blaise by means of a procession with a living impersonation of him, such procession is more likely to have been a recrudescence than a survival, for the Reformation put an end, once and for all, to all religious pageants. The earliest reference to such a revival seems to be the one mentioned by Burnley.¹ He gives the date as the 3rd March 1730, the occasion being to celebrate the Queen's birthday in London, but he gives no authority for his statement. In connexion with these processions it may be added that about the year 1774 a curious piece of machinery was exhibited all over England which represented the whole manufacture of broad cloth, from the shearing of the wool to the last operation of pressing. A small figure was actually at work on each separate process; and over them all, as a general director and arrayed in his pontifical habit and mitre, appeared Bishop Blaise.²

At Wellington, Somerset, the festival was kept up until about the middle of the last century; the man to represent the bishop was chosen from among the woolcombers, of whom there were ten in 1795-1810.³ The following⁴ verse was sung in procession by those in attendance upon the chief personage of the day:

Behold our Bishop Blaize
Who first invented combing,
Some say he has been dead long time
But now we've come to show him.

Is this an unwitting acknowledgement of a revival?⁵

¹ *The Woollen Trade*, London, 1889.

² D. Gilbert, *Parochial Hist. of Cornwall*, p. 55.

³ *V. C. H. Somerset*, ii, p. 416.

⁴ Humphrey's *Hist. of Wellington*, pp. 212, 229.

⁵ Strangely enough, the citizens of Ripon in keeping up the festival

In the *Leeds Intelligencer* for 8 Feb. 1757 one reads: 'We hear from Halifax that last Thursday, being Bishop Blaize's Day, the woolcombers in and about Stainland [a few miles from Halifax] made a procession thro' that Village, the most noted Tradesmen in the Neighbourhood accompanying them. The Novelty of the Procession, and the Tokens of Loyalty exhibited by the Cavalcade were very agreeable to the Spectators.' In the following year, 1758, the same journal on 24 Jan. has this advertisement:

'Leedes. This being the Birthday of the King of Prussia who enters into the 47th year of his age, the Woolcombers in this Town purpose to make a Grand Procession under the Auspices of Bishop Blaize, and to add to the Pomp, one of the Woolcombers in Royal Dress is to represent the King of Prussia, and we hear also that the Independent Companies will fire several Rounds in honour of the day.' The following week, 31 Jan., the same paper reports 'that the procession was performed with a Pomp and Magnificence beyond anything of the like ever seen here, and the evening concluded with a Ball'.

According to Parson and White¹ on 3 Feb. 1769 'there were at Leeds and Bradford grand septennial processions of the woolcombers in honour of their patron Bishop Blaize'. They record a procession of gentlemen woolcombers in 1776, but they do not say where. We are told by T. Row² that in his time the Bishop

'was of great note amongst the vulgar who in their processions, as relative to the wool trade, always carry an effigy or representation of him, as the inventor or patron of their art of combing it'. He does not say where the processions took place, yet his remarks imply that the processions were not uncommon. Thus in *Berrow's Worcester Journal* for 1781 we have the following announcement: 'On Monday next 3rd Feb. being the anniversary of Bishop Blaize, the woolcombers of the borough intend making a great cavalcade round the town in the following manner, viz. the procession will be preceded by their Orator and followed by a stand of colours: then the god Jason bearing the Golden Fleece: after



Fig. 5. ST. BLAIZE.
From a fifteenth-century Miniature.
Brit. Mus. 28784 A, fol. 75.

of St. Wilfrid, the city's patron saint, have a human representative of their saint in the procession which parades through the streets annually on the first day of August.

¹ *Annals . . . Leeds and York*, Leeds, 1830.

² *Gent. Mag.*, 1773, pt. 1, p. 384.

this a boy and girl to represent a shepherd and shepherdess: then the woolcombers on horseback two and two: and the whole procession will be attended by a select band of music.'

The introduction of the Golden Fleece and Jason appears to have been an innovation due to classical revival fostered by the elder Pitt, when country gentlemen vied with each other in adorning their gardens with copies of Greek statues, classical



Fig. 6. MARTYRDOM OF ST. BLAISE. From a French fifteenth-century Miniature. Brit. Mus. 29433, fol. 204.

arbours and imitation ruins, often, as Shenstone did, ruining themselves in the attempt.

The celebration of St. Blaise's day had been common in the Essex towns since the early days of the woollen industry.¹ In Saffron Walden the last celebration was in 1778, in Coggeshall in 1770, in Colchester in 1782. There seems to have been the usual dressing-up of bishop, shepherd and shepherdesses, with music and with orations made at the places where the procession stopped. There was also roystering and a good dinner. In all three towns the shepherdess with a lamb seems to have been quite as important as the bishop. At Colchester, as in many other localities, there used to be a Bishop Blaize Inn.

Curiously enough, I can find reference to one celebration only in Norwich. It took place in 1783: 'The woolcombers exhibit the pageant of Bishop Blaize in a magnificent manner. In this procession the most conspicuous objects are the golden fleece,

¹ *V. C. H. Essex*, ii, pp. 402-3.

Jason, Hercules and other ancient heroes; and Bishop Blaize, the tutelar saint of woolcombers.¹

On the 3rd July 1788 the festival was celebrated in Leeds 'with great splendour on the occasion of the passing of the act for the prevention of the exportation of wool from this country'. It was celebrated again in Leeds after an interval of twenty-seven years on 3rd Feb. 1815. The exhibition was grand beyond all precedent, being got up principally in honour of the peace which prevailed.²

In Feb. 1803, before Napoleon rudely broke the peace, the woolcombers of Loughborough celebrated the anniversary of their founder, Bishop Blaize, with more than usual hilarity. Thirty years having elapsed since a procession had been formed, and many workmen having returned after an absence of ten years in the service of their country, it was proposed to give a grand display of characters relating to the manufactory, and parade the streets in appropriate dresses. The procession led by Jason, as the champion and protector [*sic*] of the Golden Fleece, who was followed by Shepherds and Shepherdesses; a beautiful girl, elegantly dressed, carried a lamb upon her lap, with a bouquet of flowers made of wool in her bosom: next followed the venerable Bishop; his mitre with the keys of St. Peter, gilt in and out, were formed of wool, and he had a large wig of the same material, which reached down to the saddle; his bridle was held on each side by a page, and another was at the stirrup, carrying a bible in one hand, and a wool comb in the other; his followers dressed in white, with sashes, scarfs, and high caps, carrying two large flags, all made of wool and wands; two persons elevated on a stage were at work, shewing the manner in which the manufactory is carried on. In the course of their parade through the town they received some handsome contributions, and the evening was spent with the utmost harmony and good order.³ A Blaize festival was celebrated on 10th Feb. 1815 at Masham, West Yorks., where it had not been held for twenty-one years. The festivity closed with a late dinner at the public-houses most usually frequented by the woolcombers.

The importance of the festival led to the issuing of broadsides—handbills or programmes we should call them at the present day—relating to it. Bankfield Museum, Halifax, possesses two such broadsides⁴ advertising the procession of the Bradford

¹ *A Topogr. and Hist. Acc. of the City and County of Norwich*, Norwich, 1819, pp. 384-5.

² Parson and White, *Annals*.

³ *Halifax Journ.*, Feb. 19, 1803.

⁴ Given by Miss Knowles, of Ward's End, Halifax.

Woolcombers on the 4th and 3rd Feb. 1811 and 1818 respectively.
The earlier one reads :

BISHOP BLASE

PROCESSION OF WOOLCOMBERS, ETC.

In Commemoration of BISHOP BLASE
At Bradford, February 4th, 1811
The MASTERS on Horseback
with each a White Sliver
The Masters sons on Horseback
Their COLOURS
The Apprentices on Horseback, in their
Uniforms.

MUSIC

The KING and QUEEN
The Royal Family
Their Guards and Attendants
JASON
The Golden Fleece, Attendants
BISHOP and CHAPLAIN
their Attendants
SHEPHERD and SHEPHERDESS
Shepherd Swains--Attendants, &c.
Foremen and Wool-Sorters, on Horseback
The Combers COLOURS
The WOOLCOMBERS two and two, with
ornamental Caps, Wool-Wigs, and
various coloured Slivers

[Then follows the route the Procession is to take.]

VERSES to be SPOKEN during the Procession

Hail to the Day, whose kind auspicious Rays
Deign'd first to smile on famous Bishop Blase;
To the great Author of our Combing Trade,
This day's devoted and due Honor paid;
To him whose Fame thro' Britain's Isle resounds,
To him whose goodness to the poor abounds!
Long shall his Name in British Annals shine,
And grateful Ages offer at his shrine.
By this our Trade, are Thousands daily fed,
By *Us* supplied with means to earn their bread.
In various Forms our Trade its Work imparts,
In different Methods, and by different Arts,
Preserves from Starving, Indigents distress'd:
As Combers, Spinners, Weavers and the rest.
We boast no Gems, or costly Garments vain
Borrow'd from India, or the Coast of Spain;
Our native Soil, with Wool, our Trade supplies,
While foreign Countries envy us the prize;
No foreign Broils our common Good Annoy,
Our Country's Product all our Arts employ;

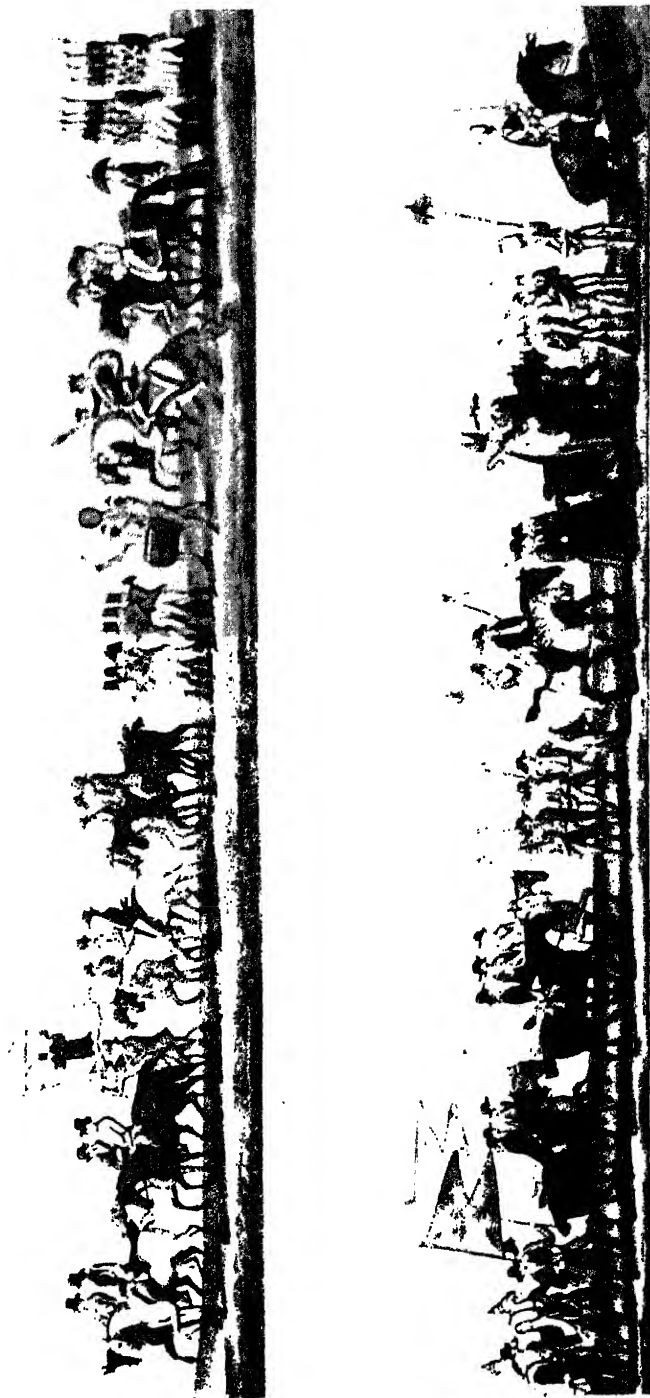


Fig. 7. GRAND FESTIVAL OF WOOLCOMBERS, COMB-MAKERS AND DYERS AT DARLINGTON ON 3RD FEB., 1825
(From a print in the possession of Mr. Edward Wooller, F.S.A., Danes-moor, Darlington)

Our Fleecy Flocks abound in ev'ry Vale,
 Our bleating Lamb proclaims the joyful Tale;
 Then let not *Spain* with us attempt to vie,
 Nor *India's* Wealth to soar so high,
 Nor *Jason* pride him in his *Colchian* spoil,
 By Hardships gain'd and enterprising Toil,
 Since Britons all with Ease attain the Prize,
 And every Hill resounds with golden Cries,
 To celebrate our Founder's great Renown,
 Our Shepherd and our Shepherdess we Crown,
 For England's Commerce and for *George's* Sway,
 Each Loyal Subject, give a loud Huzza!

HUZZA

A Public Dinner will be provided at the Talbot Inn for those Gentlemen who wish to celebrate the day.—Dinner on the Table at Half-past Four o'Clock.

R. Sedgwick, Printer, Bradford.

With regard to the above it may be noted that the apprentices had uniforms in those days. The line 'No foreign Broils our common Good Annoy' shows that the *verses* must have been written many years previous to 1811.

The Order of the Procession for Bradford in 1818 was very similar. The Masters are spoken of as Woolstaplers and Worsted Spinners and Manufacturers; the horses of the Woolstaplers are 'caparisoned with fleece', and the necks of the horses of the Spinners and Manufacturers are covered 'with nets made of thick yarn'; white stuff waistcoats are to be worn; the apprentices and masters' sons all on horseback are to wear ornamented caps, scarlet stuff coats faced with bright marine blue, white stuff waistcoats and blue pantaloons. A representation of Princess [*sic*] Medea and a Charcoal Burner seem to have been innovations (Nicholson, Printer, Bradford).

There are two broadsides in the Bradford Public Library of the festival held in Bradford in 1825. One, the smaller, issued by H. Wardman, Printer, Bradford, contains the verses only. The other, the larger one, issued by G. & E. Nicholson, Kirk-gate, Bradford, is entitled, 'A New Speech, Proposed to be spoken at the approaching Festival at Bradford in Honour of Bishop Blaise, with the order of the procession . . .' The speech (verses), which begins—

Our rising Commerce now her arm extends,
 The rich she blesses, and the poor befriends . . .

is more or less a paraphrase of the earlier 'Hail to the day', etc. It was illustrated in the top left-hand corner with a golden fleece and a hand-loom weaver at work; in the centre with Blaise in a cloister with crook, but without comb; in the top right-hand

corner with the Bradford coat of arms as in the 1818 broadside, and below goods lying on a wharf.

A third broadside of the 1825 festival in the possession of Mr. Wm. Scruton was issued by R. Blackburn, Printer, Westgate, Bradford; it is illustrated with a portrait of the Bishop on the right, woolcombers in the centre, and the Bradford coat of arms on the left (fig. 8). It was during this festival that the statue of St. Blaise was erected in the Bradford Town Hall. Writing in the *Yorkshire Observer*, 3rd Feb. 1909, Mr. Scruton says the festival was also held in Bradford in 1769, but does not give his



Fig. 8. ILLUSTRATIONS FROM A BROADSIDE OF THE BRADFORD FESTIVAL.

authority for this. He also states that after 1825 no processions took place but a ball was given instead. He continues: 'For many years there existed in Bradford a club known as *The Church Steps Society*, its meetings being held at the Church Steps Inn, near the Parish Church. The members were all engaged in the wool trade, and it was to these *checker-brat lads* that Bradford was subsequently indebted for the upholding of the once famous Bishop Blaise Festivals. Long after the great celebration of 1825 the members commemorated the event by dining together on the 3rd of February.'

The septennial procession at Keighley took place on 3rd Feb. 1812. 'The combers were all dressed in the appropriate emblems of their trade and were liberally regaled at the houses of the woolstaplers. Every apparatus of trade from the Comb to the Loom was exhibited in carriages adapted to that purpose; and all

working as in a regular factory.'¹ The procession was held in 1819 but not in 1826 owing to the bad state of trade. In Wakefield the festival was celebrated in 1829 after a lapse of thirty-five years.

In an account in manuscript of the festival held in the early part of last century in Wiltshire, obtained from a correspondent in Wiltshire, the proceedings seem to have been anything but edifying, owing to the amount of drunkenness which prevailed.

For Halifax the only record seems to be one referring to the procession of 1832, which is described by an eyewitness.² The writer says: 'The several clubs of those days carried the signs and symbols of the various trades, and after them came, what caused shouts from honest Yorkshire lungs while children were held aloft to see, the big Posy Waggon. It was one mass of flowers and garlands, and the horses, too, were almost hidden with them; while peeping from amid the bowers of shrubs and evergreens were seen two little boys clothed in sheep's hide with a pair of snow-white lambs representing the Christ Child and St. John the Baptist.'³ Shouts rent the air as this living tableau passed to make way for another group of musicians, followed by a double row of grave and portly attendants in uniform who preceded the most gorgeously caparisoned horse, entirely covered with a cloth of gold, and upon which rode BISHOP BLAISE. He wore a cocked hat, it seemed to me, but with my maturer experience I think it must have been a mitre, and a staff in his hand. The garments seemed one blaze of gold and jewels. They flashed in the sunlight as he, with his gold-coloured steed, slowly passed out of my sight, accompanied by the shouts and acclamations of the immense concourse assembled to do him honour.' Halifax still possesses a Bishop Blaize Inn.

V.

In the preceding pages I have given an account of the rise and fall in the popular mind of the brave bishop, and we can now inquire into some of the statements which may have been the cause of his elevation. I will first of all cast a glance at Roman methods of persecution and the implements of torture used on the martyrs at the time of St. Blaise's death.

Persecution of the Christians under the Roman Emperors was not usually severe nor general, but mainly spasmodic and endemic; the severity of the persecution usually varied with the personal character of the local governor. The policy of Trajan,

¹ *Leeds Mercury*.

² A. M. N. in the *Halifax Guardian* of Jan. 30, 1904.

³ The Halifax Parish Church is dedicated to St. John the Baptist.

expressed in the famous letter to the younger Pliny and quoted by Gibbon, on the whole represents the general treatment meted out to Christians: 'He acknowledges the difficulty of fixing any general plan; though he directs the magistrates to punish such persons as are legally convicted, he prohibits them from making any enquiries concerning the supposed criminals. Nor was the magistrate allowed to proceed on every kind of information. Anonymous charges the emperor rejected, and he strictly required the positive evidence of a fair and open accuser. Even when convicted, the Christians could usually choose life or death. It was not so much the past offence as the actual resistance which excited the indignation of the magistrate. He offered them an easy pardon, but, if threats and persuasions proved ineffectual, the scourge and rack were called in to supply the deficiency of argument.'

The parallel with the treatment of St. Blaise is easily seen.

The great exception to the generally tolerant attitude of Rome came under Diocletian, but even this burst of persecution was apparently over by the year 313—a date which would agree with the date of our Saint's martyrdom as given by Hieronymus Pantaleon, viz. 312. As regards Licinius's share in the persecution, and popularly he seems to be regarded as the responsible party, Licinius was ruler of the eastern European provinces of the Roman empire and defeated Maximin, ruler of Asia, on 30th April, A.D. 313. His victory was welcomed by the Christians¹ because he was regarded as a protector of Christianity. By an alliance with the Emperor Constantine in the same year Licinius kept the eastern provinces. Next year he quarrelled with Constantine and was defeated. Although he was allowed to retain some of his power, still he would hardly be anxious to irritate his powerful colleague, who was more or less inclined towards the Christians, by actively persecuting them. Probably the persecution in which St. Blaise perished was merely one of the many local persecutions due solely and mainly to the initiative of a provincial governor. It is true that an anonymous manuscript² says that 'Licinius, having fled from Constantine [in 312], whereas previously he had been a disciple of Christian doctrines, now changed his policy and persecuted many of the priests in his part of the empire'. But even this manuscript lays special stress on the individual character of the governor Agricolaus, who was 'fierce, cruel, and, as his name implies, uncouth; moreover he hated the Christians intensely'. And even under him the capture of St. Blaise seems to have been more a matter of chance than part of a regular persecution. In any case to accept this

¹ See Lactantius de M. P., c. 45-50.

² Quoted in *Acta Sanctorum*, Feb. vol. i, p. 343.

anonymous account would invalidate the date 316, because by the year 316 Licinius had come to an agreement with Constantine.

Now as to the special implement of torture which was used in tearing the flesh of those condemned to the punishment for refusing to obey the magistrates' commands. The words used by Metaphrastes are κρενία σιδηρᾶ (κτενέον = diminutive of κτεῖς = a comb in the loom for keeping threads apart; γναφικός κτεῖς = a comb used for carding wool;¹ s. v. γνάφος).

I am somewhat in doubt whether the lexicographer is correct in giving this rendering of the word κτενέον. The Greeks like the Egyptians had upright looms,² and it is likely the Romans had the same, although this by no means follows, for while these two

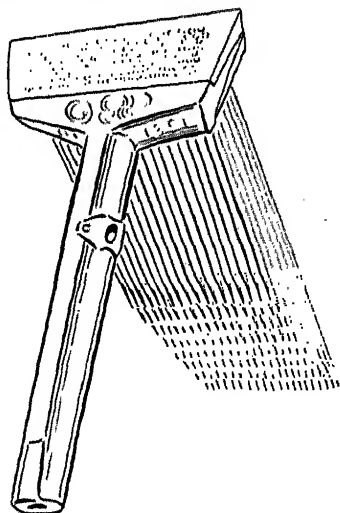


Fig. 9. HAND WOOL-COMB FOR STRAIGHTENING LONG FIBRES, IN USE IN THE HALIFAX DISTRICT UNTIL ABOUT 1850. Bankfield Museum.

peoples had much in common there were wide differences in their tools, as, for instance in the matter of weighing goods, etc., the Greeks used the balance and the Romans the steelyard.³ Still the likelihood is there, because Ciampini gives an illustration of such an upright loom in an advanced form taken from a copy of a fourth century A.D. copy of Virgil in the Vatican.⁴ The drawing is reproduced by Bernard de Montfaucon, who ascribes the loom to the fourth or fifth century A.D.⁵ In this form of upright

¹ See Timaeus, *Lexicon vocum Platoniarum*, Leyden, 1754.

² *Ancient Egyptian and Greek Looms*, by H. Ling Roth. Halifax: F. King & Sons, Ltd., 1914.

³ *Oriental Steelyards and Bismars*, by the same, *Journ. Roy. Anthropol. Inst.*, vol. xlii, 200.

⁴ *Vetere Monumenta*, i, pl. 35.

⁵ *L'Antiquité expliquée*, iii, p. 358, pl. 195.

loom, as I have explained elsewhere, the weaving proceeds from top to bottom, or downwards, while the motion of the beater-in of the cross threads, or weft, must necessarily be upwards. If a comb or reed, as we should call it, were substituted for the beater-in the motion would be so awkward as to make the substitution almost unworkable on such a primitive appliance, which makes it very unlikely that a 'comb for keeping threads apart' would or could have been used. On the other hand, modern Persian and Indian carpet frames are also upright with this difference, that the so-called weaving process proceeds upwards and hence the beating-in is downwards, and here an iron comb has been introduced (fig. 12); whether this comb goes back to Roman times we do not know—most likely it did not. I think the lexicographer may have had in his mind the present-day 'reed' which when fixed in its working frame is known as a 'slay', but this article was probably not invented till the Middle Ages, and iron or steel

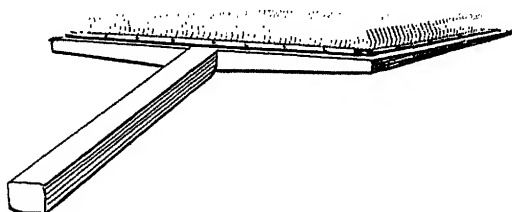


Fig. 10. HAND-CARD FOR MIXING SHORT FIBRES, IN USE AT THE PRESENT DAY IN ICELAND AND MADE IN DENMARK. Bankfield Museum.

teeth were not substituted for cane ones till quite the end of the eighteenth century, if so early. Surius translates *κρέβλα σιδήρεα* by *cum ferreis pectinibus* = with iron combs; *pecten* = a comb generally, or a comb for hackling flax or carding wool,¹ which is a wide interpretation and means an article or articles very different from that which Metaphrastes is supposed to mention. A card or carding tool is depicted in a Pompeian fresco, and if so it is possible cards may have been used to torture martyrs and others. Various manuscripts² say in reference to St. Blaise's torture that the order was for his flesh to be carded, using the word *carminari*, which is the technical word for carding wool.³

¹ See Smith's Latin Dict. quoting Pliny ii, 23, 27; Claudian, *In Eutropium*, ii, 382.

² They are all given in the *Acta*: 1, MSS. *Marchian* and *S. Maximinus*; 2, an anonymous manuscript from the Church of St. Martin, Utrecht; 3, a manuscript *ex monasterii Bodecen. Can. regular.* transcribed by John Gamanzius, S.J.; 'to be tortured with a new kind of cruelty, to be carded like wool with iron combs'.

³ Smith quoting Pliny, xix, 1, 3 and ix, 38, 62.

To make the matter as clear as possible I give illustrations of a hand wool-comb of the middle of last century and of a hand-card (fig. 10) of somewhat later date, and may add that up to the introduction of power the hand comb and card had various functions which are now performed by a whole series of processes; but the main function of the 'woolcomb' was to free the long fibres or *tops* from the short fibres or *noils*, while that of the 'card' was to intermix all the fibres. Whether combs or cards had teeth of iron or of hard thorn in the early centuries A.D. is not known. We have barely yet discarded the teazle used for carding, and the old Zulu skin-dressing tool was originally furnished with thorns, now ousted by French wire nails!

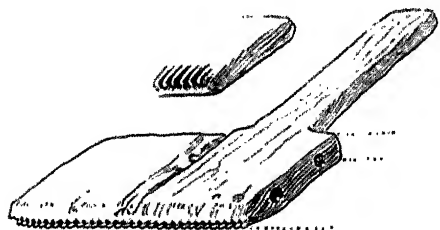


Fig. 11. ROMAN WEAVER'S COMB FROM GUROB (EGYPT). Bankfield Museum.

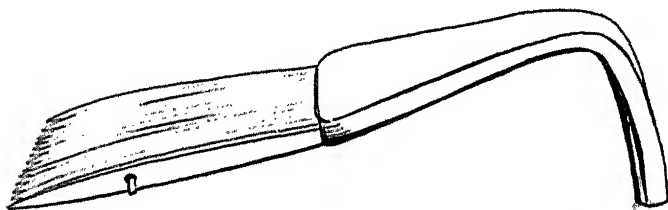


Fig. 12. LAHORE (INDIA) CARPET-MAKER'S COMB OR BEATER-IN. Bankfield Museum.

The Romans, like the Egyptians, had a wooden instrument which has been described by Professor Flinders Petrie as a weaver's comb (fig. 11). It is supposed that it was used to beat in the weft and so ensure a certain evenness in the cloth, its teeth pressing between the warp threads to some extent. I have tried this comb on an upright warp-weighted loom, such as the Greeks possessed and the inhabitants of the north coast of Iceland used up to a few years ago, and perhaps use to-day, but I cannot make it work satisfactorily. This leads me to believe that the Romans used this comb on a horizontal loom, for Rich does not encourage the idea that the Romans had vertical looms on which

the weaving proceeded upwards with the consequent downward beating in. But it is a long way from this wooden weaver's comb to an instrument which would lacerate the flesh to any extent.

We get, I think, nearer the real fact as to the kind of instrument of torture that is meant from an undated MS. mentioned in the *Acta Sanctorum*, given as from the Codex of Baronius (whose name has already been given as an authority for the date of St. Blaise's martyrdom), which says: 'The governor being mightily enraged, ordered St. Blaise to be laid on the rack (*esculeus*) and his body to be lacerated with claws (*ungues* or *ungulae*).'



Fig. 13. MARTYRDOM OF ST. BLAISE. From Petrus de Natalibus, Lib. III, fol. xliii. John Rylands Library, Manchester.

Now *ungula* = a claw is mentioned as a regular instrument of torture in *Cod. Justinian*.¹ This code was formulated in the year 529 and naturally indicates that the claw was already in use at that time. One chronicler at the end of the Middle Ages did interpret the so-called iron comb as a claw by depicting it as such. This was Petrus de Natalibus, and in his *Catalogus* he gives two different illustrations (one of which is repeated many times) of martyrdom by means of a rod the end of which terminates in three claws.² The date of the publication is 1506.

¹ 9, 18, 7 *fin.* quoted by Smith, Latin Diet.

² Mr. A. H. Smith, Keeper of Greek and Roman Antiquities, British Museum, informs me that he is not aware of any objects in the Museum or elsewhere which are at present recognized as *ungulae*, but they have at the Museum certain five-pronged forks, probably used for seething meat, which in old days used to be regarded as *ungulae*. This idea is

This is, of course, not conclusive evidence, for no illustration made twelve hundred years after the event can be so (figs. 13, 14). Baronius follows Petrus, and in doing so is, I think, correct.

When we have assured evidence that a certain instrument, the *ungula*, was in common use as an implement of punishment, including torture, it is somewhat remarkable that people should, without reason shown, go out of their way to substitute a different tool for effecting the same purpose. The conclusion arrived at is, then, that the so-called iron combs were the Roman instruments of punishment and had nothing whatever to do with any tools connected with the textile trades.



Fig. 14. MARTYRDOM OF ST. JULIAN. From Petrus de Natalibus, Lib. ii, fol. xxv. John Rylands Library, Manchester.

We now come to a second misunderstanding. Metaphrastes tells us that St. Blaise was *threatened* with the torture, presumably, of iron combs, i. e. claws, and does *not* say the threat was carried out, but as to the Bishop's disciples he does state that the seven women were torn with the combs. Surius follows him faithfully in this. It is strange, therefore, that in the legends which have come down to us it should be invariably stated that it was the *Bishop* who was torn with the combs. Such a mental transference is easily conceivable, and it seems the error was already current when Surius made his translation.

In a collection of hymns¹ edited by Franc. Jas. Mone, keeper now given up, but a writer in Daremberg and Saglio's *Dict. des Antiq. grecques et romaines* points out that the *ungula* was probably not very different.

¹ *Hymni Latini Mediæ Aevi*, Fribourg, 1853, 3 vols.

of the Archives at Karlsruhe, we are introduced to six hymns of St. John of Damascus dedicated to St. Blaise, four of which (nos. 852, 854, 856, and 857) have no reference to martyrdom by combs; one of these four (no. 857) is ascribed to the fifth century. In the seventh stanza of no. 853 there is a reference to combs, thus:

Pecten hunc carpit ferreus
Comb of iron now tears him.

This hymn appears to have come from a written appendix to a Mass book of the fifteenth century at Karlsruhe. No. 855 has also a reference to combs, thus:

*Catenis, carceribus,
fustibus et pectinibus
probatas, ut aurum fornace
victor coeli coruscas in arce.*

The hymn from which this verse is taken appears to date from the twelfth century. Accordingly, by this time it was believed that not only had iron combs been in use as a means of torture but that they were used on the body of St. Blaise. The error, once started, seems to have been adopted without further thought by nearly all writers on the Saint that I have met with, and is repeated in such authoritative works as Rohrbacher's *Histoire universelle de l'Église catholique* (Paris, 1865) and the *Catholic Encyclopaedia* (New York, 1907), volumes of the very highest merit.

Once admitted that iron combs were used for tearing the flesh, the parallel with the action of wool-combing is obvious. As the wool-trade grew and more suitable combs with longer teeth were adopted, artists began to depict real wool-combs as well as cards. No doubt the numerous illustrations have reacted on the belief and confirmed it, but neither artists nor editors have troubled themselves as to which of the two instruments was used, i. e. whether it was a comb or a card.

From the writers on Ragusa, already quoted, we gather that St. Blaise dominates all other saints in that city. The paintings and effigies of him, mostly holding a model of a church and in the act of benediction, are found all over the city, its walls, and the neighbourhood. But no writer mentions any representation of iron combs or other instruments of torture or of wild animals in connexion with the paintings and statuary. I have put the question direct to Mr. F. Hamilton-Jackson, R.B.A., and to the Rev. H. Hamilton-Jackson, who has also visited Ragusa, and both say they do not remember seeing any such emblems in connexion with the Saint. Either St. Blaise of Ragusa was not the same individual as the Bishop with whom we are dealing, or, what

is quite as likely, the story of the martyr reached Ragusa before the attributes which grew up around his name. In any case there is no connexion between him and the wool-weaving or wool-combing industry.

It has been said that a comb is shown on Ragusan coins. There is no Ragusan coin in the British Museum depicting a comb, nor does W. Rentzmann¹ mention one, nor have Messrs.

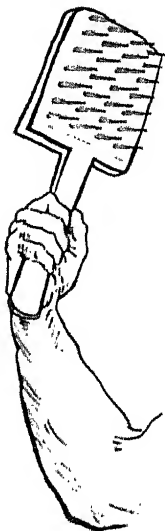


Fig. 15. CARD HELD IN THE HAND OF A ROMAN SOLDIER IN THE PAINTING BY CARLO MARATTA OF THE MARTYRDOM OF ST. MAGIO IN THE CHURCH OF S. MARIA DI CARIGNANO, IN GENOA.

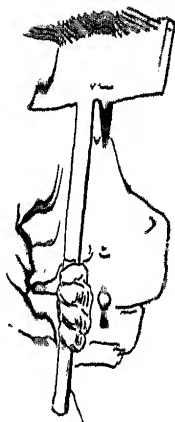


Fig. 16. TORTURE COMB HELD IN THE HAND OF THE FIGURE OF ST. NAZARIO STANDING BESIDE THE FIGURE OF ST. I. MAGIO IN THE PAINTING BY DON SIGNORI IN THE CHURCH OF S. NAZARIO E CELSO IN VERONA.

Spink & Son been able to trace such a coin or token, although they have made special efforts on my behalf to do so.²

Nearer home, in Florence, there is the celebrated hall over the church known as Or San Michele, founded in 1304 by the Wool Weavers' Guild, and yet, as I am informed by Miss L. E. Start, of Manchester University, who kindly made inquiries for me on the spot, there is among all the statues which adorn the hall

¹ *Alphabetisch-chronologische Tabellen der Münzen . . . vorkommenden Heiligen*, Berlin, 1865.

² There are numerous oil paintings representing St. Blaise; the most widely known appears to be that by Hans Memling in Lübeck Cathedral, painted in 1491, in which is shown a comb with a single row of sixteen teeth. The Bishop is also frequently met with in church windows.

not one representing St. Blaise. In the lower church of St. Clemente in Rome there is a wall-painting representing the Saint

touching the throat of the widow's son with one hand and raising the other in benediction; below a wolf carrying off a pig. The wall-painting is considered by authorities to be not later than the tenth century and probably eighth or ninth-century work. There is nothing to represent a comb of any sort (fig. 17).

Altogether the more one searches for evidence of any early connexion between the Bishop and the wool-combers or any branch of the textile trade the less one finds to support it. As has been pointed out, St. Blaise's last prayer was offered up on behalf of the maimed and sick, and surely if he had been at the time of his death a patron of the wool-workers he would have offered up a prayer on their behalf.¹

It would seem that up to the tenth century there was no thought of St. Blaise as a patron of the wool trade. In the twelfth century the belief was already existent, and since then it has spread in all directions, excepting Ragusa, wherever the Saint

is known. Bishop Blaise was a generally popular saint and patron of many trade guilds. By a misunderstanding the martyrdom by flesh laceration was transferred to him, and by a misconception of the instruments used on his co-martyrs he became the special patron of the wool-combers.

¹ See Row, *Gent. Mag.*, 1773, pt. 1.



Fig. 17. ST. BLASIVS HEALING THE WIDOW'S SON AND THE WOLF BEARING OFF HER PIG. From a copy of a ninth-century (*circa*) fresco in the lower church of St. Clemente, Rome. Bankfield Museum.

The PRESIDENT had been specially interested in the exhibition of textile implements to illustrate the apparatus of torture. His own exhibit was a book on the nature of angels, illuminated by a Florentine artist: a medallion showed Biagio as patron of Ragusa, a town with which he appeared to be associated as early as the tenth century, when St. Blaise was adopted as patron saint in place of SS. Sergius and Bacchus. In the great annual festival there were certain adjuncts showing the saint's connexion with the cloth-weaving trade, and he might mention that the Slav name of the saint also signified shepherd. In illustration of the paper he also exhibited some Ragusan coins.

Mr. WOOD had found a curious group, not of dedications but of churches once containing images of the saint, in the heart of the Weald of Kent. Wills furnished evidence of benefactions to lights before the image. Besides the Bishop Blaise inn at Halifax, he could mention others of the name at Cirencester and Exeter, the latter issuing tokens showing the bishop with a book. He ventured to doubt the authenticity of the dedication at Henbury, part of which place was known as Blaise hamlet, containing a Roman camp guarding the Roman road. Foundations found within it early in the eighteenth century were erroneously regarded as those of a chapel, and there was now a St. Blaise castle on the supposed site of St. Blaise's chapel. The true explanation was probably to be found in the fact that there was once a bishop of Worcester of the name,¹ belonging to a Gloucestershire family; and there was a Blaise bailey on the other side of the Severn.

Mr. NEWMAN suggested that the Kentish group mentioned might be accounted for by a situation on an ideal trade-route, and the saint was invoked to bless the ventures of wool-traders. Some of the English cathedrals had chapels of St. Blaise, and he understood there was one at Canterbury.

Mr. BAILDON exhibited and described a token issued in 1791 by an ancestor of his own, by name Richard Paley, who died 1808. It bore the arms and crest of the borough of Leeds, with the words LEEDS HALFPENNY and the date. On the reverse was a figure of Bishop Blaise with mitre and vestments; in his right hand a wool-comb or perhaps a weaver's comb, and in his left a book and crozier, a sheep standing at his feet. The legend was: ARTIS NOSTRE CONDITOR, and on the squared edge, PAYABLE AT THE WAREHOUSE OF RICHARD PALEY.

¹ William of Blois or Bleys (1218-36).

Mr. DUNCAN stated there were at least thirteen places in West Kent where there had existed images or altars in the saint's honour, and there were many more in nearly every county.

Mr. JOHNSTON had concluded that one of the implements shown on the screen was a flesh-hook, as used by cooks in all ages: it was well adapted also for torture. It was represented in Cædmon's paraphrase,¹ and in a wall-painting of St. Blaise at Kingston-on-Thames, in the south transept of the church, dating from the early fourteenth century.

Sir LAURENCE GOMME inquired whether there was any connexion between the primitive cults attributed to St. Blaise and the later history of the saint. He was persuaded there was none, but if animals were associated with the cult at an early date, why should they have been dropped later?

Mr. LING ROTH replied that his list did not pretend to be exhaustive, and Henbury was certainly an instance that should be withdrawn. He had been informed at the British Museum that the hook as a Roman instrument of torture was no longer supposed to be identical with the domestic flesh-hook. In Bankfield Museum, Halifax, there was a collection of tokens connected with St. Blaise, dating from the eighteenth century.

Thanks were ordered to be returned for these exhibitions and communications.

THURSDAY, 10th DECEMBER, 1914.

Sir ARTHUR JOHN EVANS, Knt., D.Litt., F.R.S.,
President, in the Chair.

The following gifts were announced, and thanks for the same ordered to be returned to the donors:

From the Author:—The genesis of banking in Halifax, with side lights on country banking. By H. Ling Roth. 8vo. Halifax, 1914.

From the Author:—Chaplains of Winchester College, 1417-1542. By Herbert Chitty. 8vo. London, 1914.

From the Rev. A. G. Tweedie:—

1. Guide book to the Abbey Church of Selby. 8vo. Selby, 1903.
2. A collection of sixty-three lantern slides illustrating Selby Abbey.

¹ *Archæologia*, xxiv, pl. lxiii.

Notice was given of a ballot for the election of Fellows to be held on Thursday, January 14, 1915, and the list of the candidates to be put to the ballot was read.

LAWRENCE WEAVER, Esq., F.S.A., read a paper on the complete building accounts of the City churches (parochial) designed by Sir Christopher Wren, which will be printed in *Archæologia*.

The paper described the complete priced bills of quantities, and ledger accounts giving the names of all the tradesmen employed on Wren's City churches; the accounts of the 'tabernacles' or temporary churches set up after the Fire; and the general accounts showing disbursements for Wren's office expenses, etc. They were included in three large manuscript volumes which had been lost sight of since 1725. In that year Christopher Wren, the son of the architect, gave instructions for their preservation at St. Paul's Cathedral, but not long afterwards they came into the hands of a bookseller who sold them to Bishop Rawlinson. They had since reposed peacefully in the Bodleian Library, and attention had now for the first time been directed to their contents. They made it possible to identify the workmanship of all the City churches, and the rates of payment for every kind of craftsmanship. They introduced the student also to many of the assistants who worked with Wren, and altogether threw a flood of light on the building practice of his time.

Mr. Bolton thought the accounts would clear up many points in connexion with the churches built by Wren. He had once heard a Dutchman describe the plaster-work of St. Stephen's, Walbrook, as 'dirty', the execution about the frieze being very curious; and that showed some inequality in Wren's work. One sometimes heard his work spoken of as if the surveyor were responsible for every detail. His work on St. Paul's was unsurpassed, such as the oak screen facing the choir aisles. Elsewhere the work was done by contractors who relied on his sketches and did their best. Wren's severity at St. Paul's had to be relaxed in dealing with so much building elsewhere. The omission of Grinling Gibbons's name was explained by the fact that the Commissioners would not pay for fancy work. He admired the style of the *Parentalia* and regretted its incompleteness. To multiply the charges by five to get present value was an exaggeration: since 1852 prices had only doubled, and it would be more correct to multiply by three. The tabernacles were temporary roofing over ruins, and Wren was fully justified in his preference for lead.

Mr. CRACE observed that the last week had added much to one's knowledge of Wren. Mr. Halley's paper in the *Journal of the Royal Institute of British Architects*, 5th December, 1914, was most valuable, and he himself had brought a collection of papers connected with the contract costs of Greenwich Hospital. Thirty documents were all that remained of a large series ordered to be destroyed on the removal of the civil administration to new quarters about 1840, and his father had asked permission to save a few of them, now exhibited. It should be noted that many of the same names occurred in those papers of 1696 and in the lists of those employed at St. Paul's many years before. The contracts included a number of trades, and one individual was bucket-maker and jack-maker to His Majesty's family at Whitehall. In 1696 John Vanbrugh would have been thirty years of age, and in the next year his first play was produced: it was possible that William Vanbrugh, who was connected with Greenwich Hospital, was the father of John.¹

Mr. WELCH said there were documents in the possession of the parishes themselves that threw light on the rebuilding and repair of the City churches. Dr. Freshfield had at his own expense put into print the books of three parishes, and there was a large collection at the Guildhall, as more than half the number had agreed to deposit their records in that library, where they could be consulted. The parishes received much help from the coal dues, but had to meet heavy expenses, and he was surprised that Wren could give personal attention to each church. The surveyor was often called upon for advice, and, in spite of numberless invitations to dinner, lived to the age of ninety. Sir Robert Vyner was probably employed as banker, to provide money temporarily. Wren was also credited with rebuilding the City halls, such as the Pewterers', but that was false history.

Lord CRAWFORD suspected the accuracy of accounts given down to a halfpenny or farthing, and remarked that forty-nine churches and two monuments cost one-third as much as St. Paul's. Many of the churches were built on a very large scale, and all appeared to him to be marvellous buildings. If the figures had to be multiplied by five, St. Paul's would work out at three and three-quarter millions.

Mr. WHEATLEY said it was impossible to decide between five and three times the amount as the present value, as all sorts of allowances and separate calculations had to be made, but he thought it was nearer five than three.

¹ The *Dict. Nat. Biog.* states that they were cousins.

Mr. NORMAN joined in congratulating the author of the paper, and thought the accounts would be specially valuable to the Royal Commission on Historical Monuments. With regard to Grinling Gibbons, he could only say that some of the carving in the City churches was of a high order. St. Mary Aldermary and St. Mary Woolnoth were only repaired by Wren, the former in a quasi-Gothic style, the lower part of the tower being medieval and the body of the church Wren's. Sir Robert Vyner lived next door to St. Mary Woolnoth, and would naturally be asked to assist in the accounts. As the author no doubt knew, the total costs had been published in Brayley's *Londiniana*, perhaps taken from the pyramid. Some of the parish accounts were mislaid or in bad condition: he had looked up a few and found that supplementary payments had been made to Wren. The accounts of St. Stephen's, Walbrook, showed that in February, 1672-3 Wren and his lady were presented with a silk purse of twenty guineas, and his surveyor with five guineas. The parish of St. Mary Abchurch had thought of repairing their church, but were advised by Wren to build a tabernacle: it was finally decided to build on the site of St. Lawrence Pountney, the two parishes having been united. In almost all the churches there was a suggestion of something medieval, the ground-plan being fifteenth century and never quadrilateral. The majority were out of the square, an imperfection that could not be debited to Wren, who had to use the old foundations. The glass quarries exhibited came from the centre of the tower foundation at St. Michael's Wood Street, and the tiles from an encaustic floor at St. Michael's Bassishaw. A list of medieval remains incorporated in Wren's churches had been published by G. H. Birch, and was complete for his time.

Mr. GORCH contributed the following note on the paper:

On the subject of Wren and his work I am in the position of one who is better fitted to receive than to impart information, and Mr. Weaver's paper is an important contribution to our knowledge which, personally, I welcome very warmly. I trust that it will appear in *Archaeologia*, together with transcripts from the accounts as full as practicable.

The points which particularly strike me are:

1. The inference from the small amount of drawing-paper used that no great number of detail drawings were made. This confirms the opinion which I have formed from a study of the drawings of Inigo Jones and Webb, that craftsmen at this period were still supplying their own designs, and that the function of the architect was still rather to bring their details into harmony with his general design than to invent the details himself.

In connexion with this point it would be interesting to trace

Wren's influence on such detail, and to discover whether buildings which display the kind of detail which one associates with Wren are or are not likely to have owed anything to his invention.

2. The purchase of a 'Booke on Vitruvius' for the use of the office. This shows that designers had recourse to printed books in aid of their own inspirations, and that at this period they drew upon ancient sources, whereas some thirty or forty years later they drew largely upon the published designs of Jones and Webb, which were not given to the world until the early part of the eighteenth century.

3. The English names of the craftsmen employed by Wren. This confirms the opinion I have long held—led thereto by building accounts of the time of Elizabeth and James—that the craftsmen who executed foreign-looking work were for the most part English, and that the actual work done in England by foreigners was comparatively small in amount. The only name with a foreign sound about it which is mentioned by Mr. Weaver is Heisenbuttell, who provided a model for the spire or tower of Christ Church.

Another point in this connexion is that Grinling Gibbons was not the only skilful carver of the time, a fact which one had already realized from the work at Chatsworth, which has generally been attributed to Gibbons, but was in fact executed by a Derbyshire man.

One small matter, not strictly germane to the subject of Wren's work, may still, perhaps, be of interest to antiquaries, and that is how the word 'meticulous', which, I believe, originally meant 'timid'—or at any rate something allied to 'fear'—has come to be used in the present day (largely by journalists) as meaning 'minute' or 'painstaking'.

Mr. WEAVER replied that the Greenwich accounts were estimates, or rather proposals. He had been through the parish accounts with the librarian at the Guildhall, but had found nothing to equal the Bodleian volumes. The costs of St. Paul's were exaggerated by the inclusion of all the ornamental work; and he thought a transcript of all the parish accounts should be made and deposited at the Guildhall. The small amount of drawing-paper provided did not in his opinion imply that the measured drawings were scanty. Many pieces of work were done entirely in the shop. The craftsmen named in the accounts were the masters, not the actual workmen.

P. M. JOHNSTON, Esq., F.S.A., exhibited three quarries of painted glass from Tonge Church, Kent, on which were depicted a naked man blowing up a fire with a pair of bellows, a man

in civil costume with a badge in his hat somewhat resembling a ragged staff, and a bird, possibly an eagle, being ridden by a dove. He was inclined to date them to the early part of the fifteenth century.

Mr. PEERS thought the quarries later than was suggested: they were very common in the first half of the sixteenth century. The costume might also be sixteenth century, and he saw no reason for considering it earlier.

Mr. BARRON thought the latest possible date was about 1460, and could not agree that the ragged staff was represented in the front of the hat.

Thanks were ordered to be returned for these communications and exhibitions.

THURSDAY, 17th DECEMBER, 1914.

Sir CHARLES HERCULES READ, Knt., LL.D., Vice-President, in the Chair.

The following gifts were announced, and thanks for the same ordered to be returned to the donors:

From the Author:—Dedications and patron saints of English churches. By Francis Bond. 8vo. Oxford, 1914.

From the Author:—The liturgical homilies of Narsai of Nisibis in the fifth century. By Rev. O. J. Reichel, F.S.A. 8vo. Exeter, 1914.

From the Author:—Anglo-Saxon church architecture in Sussex. By Colonel H. L. Jessep. 8vo. Winchester, etc., 1914.

From Harold Sands, Esq., F.S.A.:—

1. The architecture of the churches of Denmark. By Major Alfred Heales. 8vo. London, 1892.

2. The Royal Navy. A history from the earliest times to the present. By W. L. Clowes. 7 vols. 8vo. London, 1897–1903.

William Mangles P'Anson, Esq., was admitted a Fellow.

Notice was again given of the ballot for the election of Fellows to be held on Thursday, 14th January, 1915, and the list of the candidates to be put to the ballot was again read.

GEORGE JEFFERY, Esq., F.S.A., Local Secretary for Cyprus, communicated a paper on Rock-cutting and Tomb Architecture in Cyprus, which will be printed in *Archaeologia*.

The paper dealt with first the quarries and quarry tools of ancient Cyprus, and showed that similar tooling and methods of work were adopted in the rock-cut tombs. The tombs considered were: (i) caves and chambers of the Bronze Age; (ii) Graeco-Phoenician rock-hewn chambers and built tombs; (iii) Graeco-Roman built tombs and rock-hewn 'kokkim'; and (iv) Byzantine rock-hewn chambers, which were frequently situated in quarries. Examples of these various tombs were the corbel-vaulted tomb at Larnaca; the tomb at Yamassos, with carpentry imitated in stone; the tomb at New Paphos, with Doric façades; the 'Annunciation Chapel' at Larnaca; the 'Prison of St. Catharine' near Famagusta; and the rock-hewn chapel of Acheiropoietou at Lampousa.

Professor J. L. MYRES, M.A., F.S.A., read a note on the 'Prison of St. Catharine' at Salamis, Cyprus, which will be printed in *Archaeologia*.

'The Prison of St. Catharine' was an ancient-built tomb, partly below ground, with barrel-vaulted chamber, lateral doorway with stone portcullis, and side chamber cut in one block of stone, and roofed with another. Ohnefalsch-Richter's publication in the *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 1888, was now supplemented by observations and trenching in 1913. The descent to the doorway had been cleared and protected; the modern entrance through a breach in the north wall had been freed from obstructions; and some architectural features had been revealed by dissection of the surface soil. The profile of the lower part of the superstructure had been recovered. The date of the monument was still not certain, but the probability was increasing that it was not early, and the two rock-hewn chamber-tombs immediately adjacent were certainly late Roman.

Mr. WALTERS enjoyed the distinction of having seen the Prison of St. Catharine, but his visit had been hurried and his recollections were vague in consequence. His colleague Mr. Arthur Smith had in 1896 excavated the tumulus of St. Catharine, but its connexion or identity with the prison was problematic. On that occasion a terra-cotta vase with a Cypriote inscription painted on it was found in the structure, and the conclusion was that the prison was contemporary with it. No explanation of the name had been provided, but he suggested there was a legend connected with the site.

Professor MYRES said the excavations of 1896 had given rise to many problems, the text of the Report stating, for instance, that the tumulus was close to St. Catharine's prison; but nobody

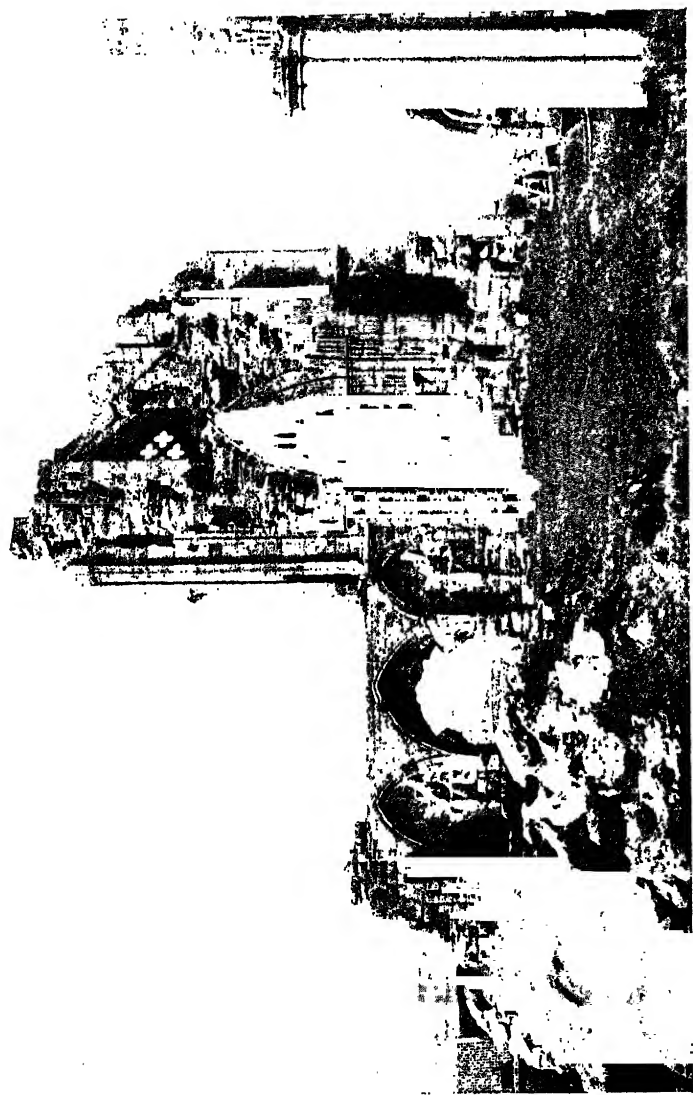


Photo. sur l'air, W. Whitby

Fig. 1. WHITBY ABBEY: WEST END OF NAVE, BEFORE 16th DECEMBER, 1914

called it the tumulus of the saint, and the plan showed that a different tumulus had been excavated.¹ There was no clear account of the present name, and it might possibly be due to nothing but the discovery of a wheel.

The CHAIRMAN described Cyprus as one of the most picturesque islands of the Mediterranean, and of peculiar interest to Britons at the present time as a recent addition to the empire. In the earliest days it stood in a peculiar relation to the Mediterranean civilization, and played a useful part in medieval times. The period dealt with in the paper—near the beginning of the Christian era—was the least appreciated of any in its history. He felt inclined to agree with Professor Myres's dating of the site, but it had been arrived at solely by a process of elimination, and he knew of no other to which it could belong, there being a marked absence of inscriptions or anything else of chronological significance.

Thanks were ordered to be returned for these communications.

THURSDAY, 14th JANUARY, 1915.

Sir ARTHUR JOHN EVANS, Knt., D.Litt., F.R.S.,
President, in the Chair.

The following gifts were announced, and thanks for the same ordered to be returned to the donors:

From the Author :—Hadham Hall and the manor of Bawdes alias Hadham Parva in the county of Hertfordshire. By William Minet, M.A., F.S.A. Privately printed. 8vo. n.p. 1914.

From H. W. Lewer, Esq., F.S.A. :—

1. Studies in ancient history, first and second series. By J. F. McLennan. 2 vols. 8vo. London, 1886 and 1896.
2. The patriarchal theory, based on the papers of J. F. McLennan. Edited by Douglas McLennan. 8vo. London, 1885.

From Harold Sands, Esq., F.S.A. :—A history of the machine-wrought hosiery and lace manufactures. By William Felkin. 8vo. London, 1867.

This being an evening appointed for the election of Fellows, no papers were read.

¹ *Excavations in Cyprus* (Brit. Mus.), frontispiece.

L. A. LAWRENCE, Esq., F.S.A., exhibited a collection of appliances for weighing coins.

H. CLIFFORD SMITH, Esq., M.A., F.S.A., exhibited a mechanical toy in the form of a tortoise; South German work of the seventeenth century, the property of Lady Murray.

The body is formed of the natural shell of a tortoise, and the head and legs of gilt bronze, finely modelled. On its back is a seated figure of a merman, also of gilt bronze, with a trident. The object is fitted with elaborate mechanism, and when wound up moves slowly along the ground on wheels, the head and legs imitating in a remarkable way the action of a tortoise, while the merman nods his head and strikes the tortoise with his trident. The merman had originally a head-covering, which is now lost.

Height, $6\frac{1}{2}$ in.; length, $5\frac{3}{4}$ in.; width, $5\frac{1}{2}$ in.

Many of the German princes of the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries possessed cabinets of curiosities containing similar combinations of the natural and artificial in the form of mounted ostrich-eggs, shells, and other objects. A clockwork tortoise corresponding to that exhibited, stated to date from the time of the Emperor Rudolph II (1552-1612), is in the Hof-Museum, Vienna. A variety of other mechanical figures, mainly the work of the clock and horological instrument makers of South Germany, and especially Nuremberg, which has always been famous for toys, are preserved in the Imperial collections at Vienna, the Green Vaults, Dresden, the Treasury at Munich, the Industrial Museum, Berlin, and at Gotha and Stockholm.

JOHN BILSON, Esq., F.S.A., one of the Local Secretaries for Yorkshire, presented the following report on the damage to Whitby Abbey caused by the German bombardment of 16th December, 1914:

The west end of the nave has suffered most. This is the latest part of the church, dating from the early years of the fourteenth century, and its condition before the bombardment was as follows (fig. 1). The lower part of the west wall of the nave itself was standing up to the level of the sill of the great west window; the west doorway was complete, except its central column and part of its tympanum; and on each side of the doorway, on the inner side of the wall, was a wall-arcade of similar character to those of the nave aisles of York Minster and the west end of Howden church. The western respond pier of the north arcade of the nave remained its full height, with its capitals and the springing of the arcade arch, and behind



Fig. 2. WHITBY ABBEY : WEST END OF NAVE ON 19TH DECEMBER, 1914

Photo, Sutcliffe, Whitby

this was a newel-stair. The north jamb of the great west window remained its full height up to the springing, attached to the wall and buttress containing the stair. The west wall of the north aisle was fairly complete to its full height, except that the window had lost part of its tracery, which, like the great west window of the nave, was an insertion of the fifteenth century.

The arch of the west doorway and the walling above it have been destroyed. The wall-arcades on either side of the doorway have collapsed, leaving the rubble core of the wall—except a small fragment at each end, north and south. The north jamb of the great west window has fallen, with the whole of the eastern half of the stair, down to below the capitals of the respond pier. The south half of the inner arch of the west window of the north aisle has fallen, and what remained of its tracery has been dislocated. Much of the north face of the buttress in line with the west wall of the aisle has been stripped off (figs. 2 and 3).

Elsewhere the church has suffered some lesser injuries. The gable-end of the north transept is flanked by turrets rising from great buttresses; on the eastern of these, the upper arcade has lost one of its arches and small gables, and one of the gables of the lower arcade has lost its apex stone; the wall around the eastern angle of the buttress at the latter level shows signs of having been struck and some surface damage, and the blow seems to have brought down two arch stones from the north side of the bay of the east clearstory of the transept next the crossing. One of the main piers of the north arcade of the choir, the fourth from the east end, has been struck, and the capitals of two of its shafts on its north-east side have been shattered. Otherwise the beautiful choir has fortunately almost entirely escaped injury.

The ballot opened at 8.45 p.m. and closed at 9.30 p.m., when the following were declared elected Fellows of the Society:

Henry Balfour, Esq., M.A., proposed by the Council, *honoris causa*.

William Austin, Esq.

Thomas Arthur Acton, Esq.

Clement Oswald Skilbeck, Esq.

Percival Davis Griffiths, Esq.

Roger Charles Anderson, Esq., M.A.

Sir Robert Stodart Lorimer, Knt.

James Berry, Esq., F.R.C.S.

THURSDAY, 21st JANUARY, 1915.

Sir ARTHUR JOHN EVANS, Knt., D.Litt., F.R.S.,
President, in the Chair.

The following gifts were announced, and thanks for the same ordered to be returned to the donors :

From the Author :—The Bellamies of Uxendon. By Rev. W. D. Bushell, F.S.A. 8vo. Cambridge, 1914.

From G. McN. Rushforth, Esq., F.S.A. :—The history of Kempley manor and church, Gloucestershire. By St. Clair Baddeley. 8vo. n.p. n.d.

From W. H. Quarrell, Esq., F.S.A. :—Engraved portrait of Rev. Francis Peck, F.S.A.

The following were admitted Fellows :

Henry Balfour, Esq., M.A.

Clement Oswald Skilbeck, Esq.

Votes of thanks were passed to the Editors of *The Athenaeum*, *The Builder*, *Notes and Queries*, and *Country Life* for the gift of their publications during the past year.

WILLIAM PAGE, Esq., F.S.A., read a paper on the Churches of the Domesday Survey, which will be printed in *Archaeologia*.

One of the principal difficulties in the study of the entries relating to churches in the Domesday Survey was the omission of certain churches known to have existed in 1086. The majority of such churches, it would be found on examination, belonged to religious houses which apparently served them, and had either founded them without endowment or appropriated their endowments.

The entries in the Domesday Book for the western counties of Wessex were not placed under hundreds, but a reconstruction under hundreds showed that the ministration of the church was organized from small minsters or manorial churches at hundred manors and boroughs, or from the great religious houses. In Hampshire and the counties eastward the hundredal system, though still traceable, became obscured by the increasing number of manorial churches. The hundredal system for ecclesiastical purposes could not be identified north of the Thames, though an organization from boroughs and other administrative centres was found.

In Essex there was evidence of few minsters, but many manorial churches. In East Anglia very different ecclesiastical conditions

prevailed from those in Wessex. The Danes had probably obliterated all organized Christianity, so that when the Bishopric of Elmham was refounded in the latter half of the tenth century an entirely new organization was adopted. Traces of minsters at administrative centres could be found, but manorial or parish churches quickly spread, so that the number of them recorded in Domesday exceeded that of any other district. Churches were frequently entered on the lands of groups of freemen and others, and were presumably built and endowed by them or their ancestors and by combinations of such groups. It was possible also that freemen of adjoining villas combined to found and endow churches.

In the north of Danish Mercia and north-west of English Mercia, minsters at administrative centres were still fairly numerous, but in the southern parts of these districts they were becoming overshadowed by manorial churches. Occasionally priests at the great manors of the Danelaw were found apparently ministering to their numerous members and berewicks. Cambridge, Bedford, Buckingham, Oxford, and western Hertford formed a group of counties in which, for some reason, churches were very sparsely entered. In Yorkshire, there were the minsters at York, Beverley, and Ripon; otherwise the ministration was by manorial churches.

By a reconstruction of the Domesday entries under the tenants of the time of Edward the Confessor, it could be shown that in many instances the references to churches and priests occurred only at one holding of a tenant, and that this was his place of residence. This might give a reason why in certain types of settlements the church still adjoins the manor house.

Bishop BROWNE thought that as the Domesday Survey was concerned with taxation, only those churches would be mentioned that had endowments or took fees, and possibly fees were taken only by one church in the hundred. It did not follow that a church was erected near every cross that was mentioned: the cross marked the spot where the priest attended periodically, and he might have taken over the land in the name of the saint nearest the date of his visit in the calendar. There would be burials round the cross, and in building a church subsequently, care would be taken not to disturb the cross or the tombs of friends: hence if there were stones observed north of the cross one might conclude a church once stood there. If a church had ever been erected in connexion with the cross it would have been on the north side. If no cross had existed near a church, the building would be in the middle of the churchyard, with burials all round it; but the existence of a cross connected with

a saint could not be taken as proof that a church ever existed on the spot.

Mr. W. A. LINDSAY inquired who received the tithes in cases where there was no church in existence and no reason to suppose there was one at the time of the Survey? If the tithes belonged to the minster church, what was the procedure, and could it be inferred that there was no church in the manor in cases where the tithes were granted at the Conquest to a foreign abbey? Payment of tithes was universal probably three centuries before the Conquest; and it would be interesting to know how far the entries of Domesday and the existence of churches could be combined with our knowledge of tithes and their receivers. Perhaps Mr. Page had some information in print or otherwise available on this point.

Mr. CRACE said crosses certainly existed in places where there was no church; for instance, St. Willibrord in the eighth century, embarking at Southampton, passed various crosses marking places for prayer, and in Cornwall a great many crosses were connected with churches, but numbers also existed away from any village and in isolated places on the moors.

Mr. C. JOHNSON asked if the author had devoted any attention to the parochial system in Ireland. There were certain analogies, for example in the list of benefices it was observed that the number of rectories was extremely small in comparison with vicarages; and there was reason to think that in very large districts where there were no settlements by the English the ecclesiastical organization was by septs, and the priest developed into the rector. In the papal registers one could find that the rectory was shouldered out by the vicarages that arose under it, and the rector was reduced to something like a lay personage, with no ecclesiastical duties whatever.

Mr. BAILDON did not quite grasp the thesis, but took it that the church organization was based on the hundred, and that the hundred was served by minsters. In that case he thought the author had imported into these early times a sense of organization that belonged to a later day. The question was, what had the church as an organization to do with the hundred? It was to him a new idea that the church organization coalesced with the hundred at any point. There seemed to him to be a much simpler explanation apart from any theory. The East Anglian returns for the purpose of Domesday were much fuller than those for any other district. The commissioners were directed

among other matters to inquire about the church, but none of those returns still existed. They were sent into the Chancery where clerks compiled the Domesday book from them, leaving out all that did not seem material to the main object, which was fiscal not cadastral. For some curious reason the clerks who wrote up East Anglia inserted answers to questions that were omitted in other parts; hence it was not safe to assume that pigs did not exist elsewhere because they were not mentioned as they were in the East Anglian record. The simple explanation was that if a church did not answer any fiscal purpose, no mention was made of it in Domesday, though it might be endowed in various ways other than in land. In many cases the church actually belonged to a monastic house; but it did not follow because a church was served from a monastic house, that the land belonged to that house.

Mr. LEACH thought the paper most illuminating. He had himself come to the conclusion that many minster churches, especially north of the Thames, were due to deliberate organization. The system was begun by Alfred notably at Oxford, where there were two collegiate churches; and continued by his children Edward the Elder and Æthelfled, and his grandson Æthelstan. In the Saxon Chronicle's accounts of the recovery of the Danelaw, the Mercian version ignored the work of Edward and the West Saxon version ignored that of Æthelfled, the Lady of the Mercians. But from 907, when the Lady 'renewed' Chester, where there were two collegiate churches or minsters, there was a long list given of boroughs built by her at Bridgenorth, Shrewsbury, Tamworth, Stafford, Warwick, Derby, Leicester, and other places; while Edward built Bedford, Stamford, Buckingham, Nottingham, and others. At nearly all these places there was evidence in Domesday or elsewhere of collegiate churches. Mr. Leach's interest in collecting them was because of the ancient grammar schools which were found to have existed in those places, a grammar school being an essential, or at all events an almost inseparable accident, of a collegiate church. With regard to Leicester, though no collegiate church seemed to be mentioned in Domesday, there was evidence of St. Mary's in the castle being collegiate and being plundered of its possessions in the twelfth century for the benefit of the Augustinian priory of St. Mary de Pratis. Edward and Æthelfled seemed to have built the boroughs on a deliberate system to hold the reconquered country against the Danes, while pacifying and civilizing them through the agency of the minster clergy, 'consolidating by arts what they achieved by arms; educating the heathen when they had subdued them'. This

policy appeared to be indicated by the later coins of Edward the Elder, some of which displayed the west front of a great church in two stories, with round arches; and others gave a side view of a church and a dove with an olive branch. Mr. Leach had not found any specific account of any foundation of minsters at these places by Edward and Æthelfled. But Edward's son and successor, Æthelstan, was definitely alleged to have been the founder of minsters at places in the north and west to which he extended his conquests; e.g. at Beverley, Ripon, and Durham in the north, Malmesbury and Gloucester in the west. Their establishment followed a common form, the usual number of 'myminster prestes', as they were called in Æthelstan's (fictitious) rhyming charter at Beverley, or clerks or canons, being seven, as at Beverley, Ripon, and in the cathedrals of York and Lichfield, where they were called Culdees; probably from the number of the seven churches of Asia and the seven golden candlesticks. Like the canons of the cathedrals the minster priests went out as missionaries among the scanty population, ministering the sacraments and holding services; probably at fixed places, which afterwards became the prebendal churches. Mr. Page's facts as to the large number of these minsters formed a real discovery; which was particularly important in respect of the question of the work of the monasteries, as it strengthened the view that it was the secular clergy in the minsters, not the monks confined in their monasteries saving their own souls, who did the real work of christianizing the heathen and trying to save the souls of others, and at all events spreading civilization and education.

Mr. PAGE replied that he had only had time to read about one-third of the paper, and much evidence had consequently been suppressed. He had throughout dealt with the conditions of the Domesday period; and when he said there was only one church in a hundred, he meant that only one was mentioned in Domesday. The question of tithes he had left untouched, and could only refer to Lord Selborne's work; tithes were paid to whomsoever the lord allotted them. He had likewise omitted the architectural material, and could not say whether there had been a parallel organization in Ireland. His claim was that there was a hundredal church-system for Wessex: the conditions in East Anglia were quite different. There was no mention in Domesday of a minster at Leicester.

W. R. L. LOWE, Esq., read the following paper on the History of the Legend of St. Alban:

In England there are apparently only two places called after St. Alban, namely, the well-known city in Hertfordshire and

St. Alban's Mount in Herefordshire,¹ while less than a dozen pre-Reformation churches are dedicated to his honour.² In France, on the other hand, there are more than twenty towns and villages taking their names from our protomartyr saint, and many ancient churches are dedicated to him. I have endeavoured to ascertain under what circumstances this has occurred, and how and where the Romano-British legend survived the overthrow of civilization and Christianity by the Anglo-Saxon invasion.

The numbers on the accompanying map of France (fig. 1) indicate the number of places called St. Alban in each department. In Brittany we might have expected to find traces of a Romano-British legend in consequence of the migrations from this country in the fifth and sixth centuries, but there is here only one town named from St. Alban and a few churches dedicated to his honour. The Breton town of St. Alban is near St. Brieuc, which was called after an emigrant from Britain who crossed the Channel towards the end of the fifth century. One of the churches dedicated to St. Alban is at Elven near Vannes, and, according to information received from the curé, there is a local tradition that the legend of St. Alban was taken to Brittany by the British refugees of the fifth and sixth centuries. The curé supplied a copy of the proper lection for St. Alban's day in the diocesan breviary at Vannes, which is an abbreviation of the legend as given by Bede, and is remarkable in that it contains no allusion to miracles.

Most of the saints after whom places in Brittany are called were founders of the churches dedicated to them, as in Wales and Cornwall.³

Taking the other towns called St. Alban from north to south along the Saône and Rhône, we find one St. Alban in the department of Saône-et-Loire, one in Ain, one in Loire, one in Rhône, three in Ardèche, four in Isère, and one in Gard. Branching off eastwards from this route towards Mont-Cenis, we find six in the department of Savoy, which is the southern half of the ancient duchy of that name, besides a town called Albens and a village called Albanne, where the churches have been dedicated to St. Alban of Britain from time immemorial. On the Gironde route we have one St. Alban in Haute-Garonne, one in Tarn, and one in Lozère. The Saône-Rhône route was undoubtedly the road from this country to the Mediterranean and Italy in the days of the Roman Empire, while the Gironde route, on which

¹ St. Alban's Head is thought to be a corruption of St. Aldhelm's Head.

² Miss Arnold-Forster, *Studies in Church Dedications*.

³ *Les noms des saints bretons*, par Professeur Loth, *passim*.

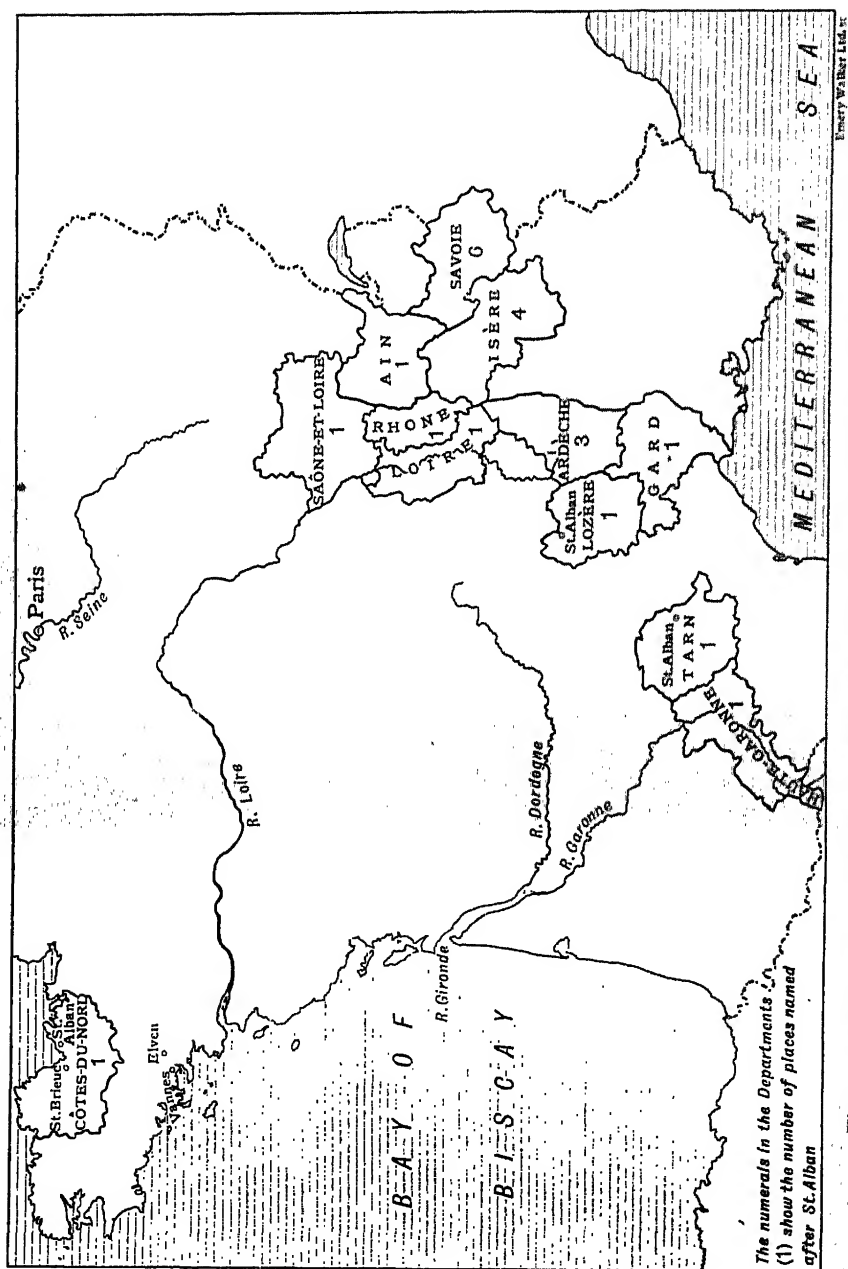


Fig. 1. MAP OF FRANCE, INDICATING THE NUMBER OF PLACES CALLED ST. ALBAN IN EACH DEPARTMENT.

are only a few places called St. Alban, was one of the routes from Ireland.

I do not think it is surprising that the legend should spread along the much-frequented road from Britain to Marseilles and Italy. The story of a man who sacrifices life to save another has been popular in all ages.

Only three of the places called St. Alban are north of the part

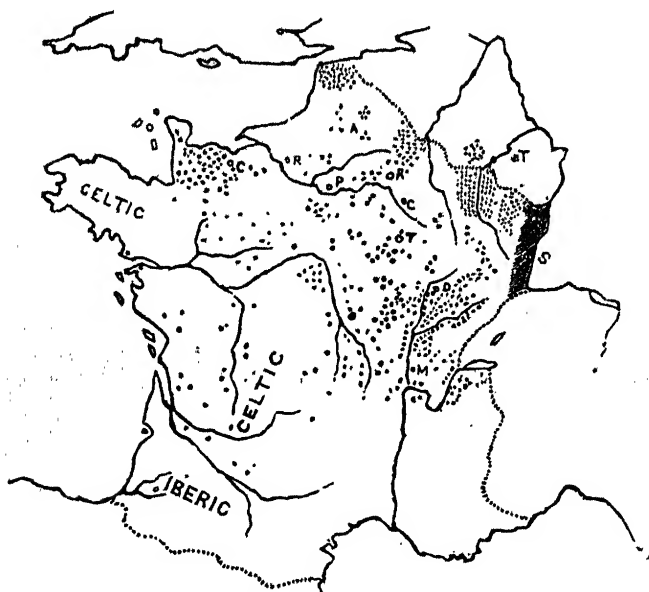


Fig. 2. THE PATRONYMIC VILLAGE-NAMES IN FRANCE.

of the Rhône which runs westward from the Lake of Geneva to its junction with the Saône, all the other places being south and west of the region where the barbarians changed the place-names, as will be seen by the accompanying map¹ (fig. 2). So far as I have been able to ascertain, it is unknown when the name of St. Alban was first given to places in France, but it was earlier than the eighth century, and probably has survived from the days of the Roman Empire.

Fig. 3 shows a map of the district where the name of St. Alban occurs most frequently. This district measures about 200 kilometres from east to west, from a little west of the Great St. Bernard to Roanne, and 150 kilometres north to south, from

¹ Reproduced (by permission) from Isaac Taylor, *Words and Places*, p. 96.

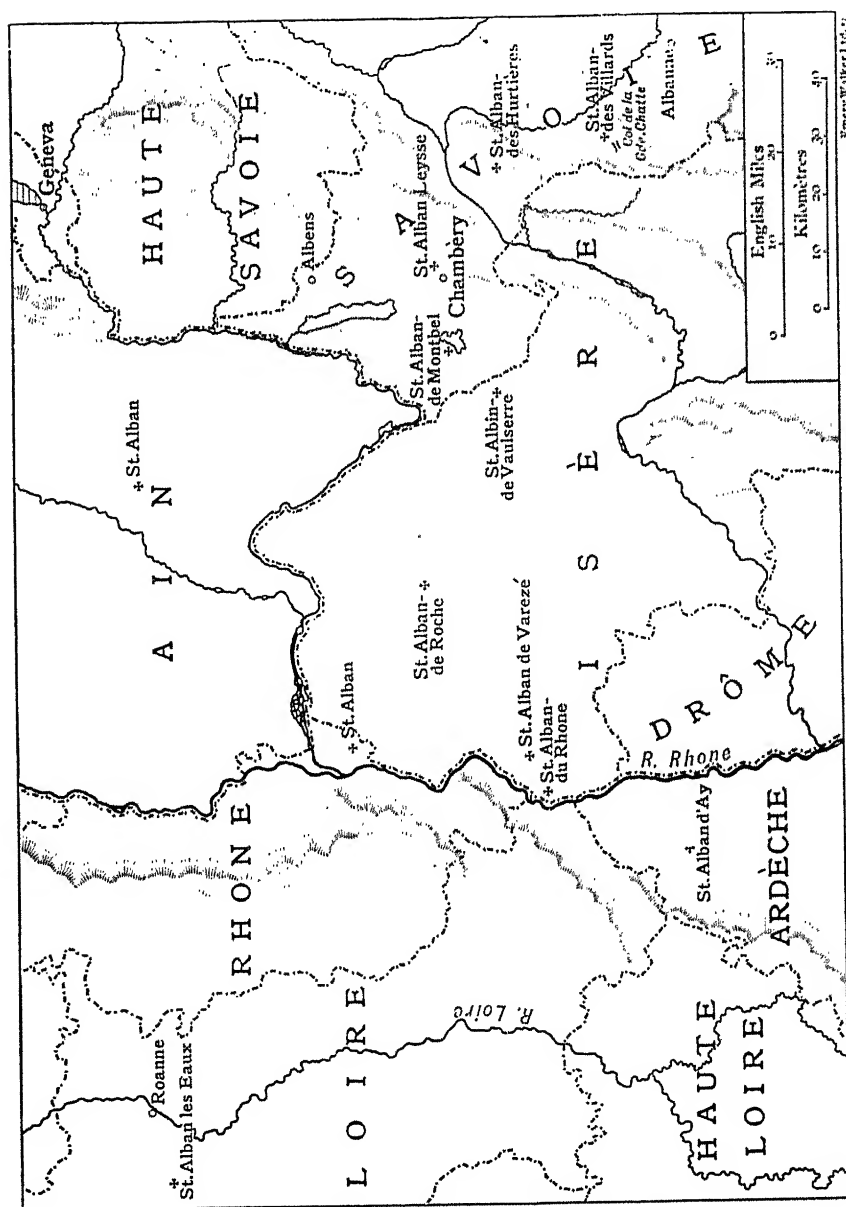


Fig. 3. MAP OF THE DISTRICT IN FRANCE WHERE THE NAME OF ST. ALBAN OCCURS MOST FREQUENTLY.

Geneva to a little south of the Mont-Cenis tunnel, and contains fourteen places called after St. Alban, including the above-mentioned Albens and Albanne. It may be, however, that St. Albin de Vaulserre is called after St. Albinus of Angers, as the fête day, according to Bottius' Annual, corresponds with St. Albinus' day, viz. 1st March. There is, as is well known, a legend of another St. Alban, who is said to have been martyred at Mayence about a century later than our saint, whose fame might have spread to Savoy if not further west. I have, however, satisfied myself that it is our St. Alban who is honoured in France, by reference to diocesan breviaries containing special lections for St. Alban's day, by corresponding with the clergy in places called St. Alban, and by visiting some of the parishes in Savoy which bear the name of our saint.

As to the evidence of the breviaries, I have referred to many in the British Museum, but the great majority of them do not even mention St. Alban in the Calendar. I have, however, found a breviary of the diocese of Geneva, dated 1520, which contains a short lection for the feast of St. Alban of Verulam and his companions. At that date part of Savoy, now in the diocese of Chambéry, was included in the diocese of Geneva, which ceased to exist at the time of the Reformation. I have been unable to refer to the diocesan breviary of Viviers herein-after mentioned, as it is not in the British Museum. As one would naturally expect, there is a proper lection for St. Alban's day in the diocesan breviary of Auxerre, where Germanus was bishop. This contains an account of the martyrdom and of the visit of Germanus to the tomb of St. Alban, which, according to a foot-note, is copied from Bede and Constantius.

My principal reason for wishing to bring this matter before the Society of Antiquaries is to put on record the information obtained from various correspondents, the most important communication being one from Professor Burlet of La Motte Servolex, near Chambéry. He stated that St. Severus of Vienne (a friend of Germanus, though not identical with the Severus who accompanied him to Britain) dedicated a church to St. Alban near Vienne; he also gave me the earliest dates at which he has found mention of the parishes in Savoy called St. Alban, namely, St. Alban Leyse 1234, St. Alban de Montbel 1142, St. Alban des Villards 1322, and St. Alban Hurtières in the fourteenth century. He believes, however, that these places had been so called for a long time before these dates, and mentions a local legend that the cult of St. Alban was introduced into Savoy by St. Columbanus.

M. Bruno Laverne, curé of St. Alban de Montbel, states that though St. Alban, as a separate parish, only dates from

1838, the commune was so called in the Middle Ages. The same is the case at St. Alban les Eaux near Roanne, where the parish was formed in 1860, but there also the curé cannot account for the commune being called St. Alban from time immemorial. This seems to point to the probability of ancient churches, now forgotten, having been dedicated to St. Alban.

M. J. Suiffet, curé of St. Alban des Villards, gives as his reasons for believing that the patron of his parish is St. Alban of Great Britain, that the cult of St. Alban was, according to local tradition, introduced by the monks from St. Columban des Villards, the next parish to St. Alban, where there was a Columban monastery, a cell of Luxueil (this agrees with the legend mentioned by Professor Burlet), and that although Savoy was at one time overrun by Germans, and his parish is so near the Italian frontier, the legends of the German and Italian saints called Alban are unknown. Both Professor Burlet and M. Suiffet refer to the inscriptions of Vienne as authority for the dedication of a church to St. Alban by Severus of Vienne,¹ and that authority refers back to the Martyrology of Archbishop Ado of Vienne in the ninth century.²

M. Piatton, Aumônier des Frères at St. Maurice l'Exil, who takes the duty at St. Alban du Rhône, where there has been no resident priest since the disendowment, enclosed a note from M. Perouse, of St. Alban du Rhône, who has written a history of his parish. M. Perouse states that Severus of Vienne came from India and founded monasteries in the neighbourhood of Vienne, and also a chapel dedicated to St. Alban (doubtless the church above mentioned). I cannot, however, agree with M. Perouse that the St. Alban venerated in the Rhône valley was therefore probably an Asiatic. The article on St. Severus of Vienne in the *Dictionary of Christian Biography* mentions the tradition that he came from India, and also his great friendship with St. Germanus, from whom he may have learnt to venerate our St. Alban. The author of this article also gives Archbishop Ado

¹ *Inscriptions de Vienne en Dauphiné*, par A. Allmer et Alfred de Terrebasse, vol. v, pp. 25-31. The passage quoted in the *Inscriptions of Vienne* is as follows: 'Ad locum quemdam cui Voguria vel Vogoria nomen est. . . basilicium in honore sancti Albani fabricavit,' and, according to the same authority, there was undoubtedly a church called St. Alban des Vignes, or de Navon, in the territory formerly called Vogoria, now Vaugris; the nearest church now dedicated to St. Alban is at St. Alban du Rhône, about 12 kil. distant. The passage above quoted is not in the edition of Ado's Martyrology in the British Museum, but there is a note stating that the short account of St. Severus given by Ado is abbreviated from the Martyrology of Usuardus, so possibly the editors of the *Inscriptions* quoted the passage from the latter authority though they only refer to Ado.

² *Martyrologium Adonis* (Georgius, 1745).

of Vienne as his authority. It is probable, therefore, that churches were dedicated to St. Alban in France before Verulam was taken by the Anglo-Saxons.

Monsieur Capoulade, vicaire at St. Alban in Lozère, wrote that he had made researches in order to reply to my letter, but unfortunately the archives were not very complete. He was sure that St. Alban of Great Britain was patron of the parish, as appeared by an extract from the diocesan breviary which he sent me. The church, which was built in the eleventh century, is dedicated to St. Alban, and there was a chapel with the same dedication on the site long before that date. It is not known at what date the town was first called St. Alban, but it is so called in documents (*actes*) of the eighth century.¹

In the church at St. Alban de Montbel, the east window, which is a small lancet almost hidden by the altar and super-altar, represents the martyrdom of St. Alban. The executioner is standing with sword uplifted ready to strike. In the background, beyond a river, is a little church. There is also a processional banner on which St. Alban is represented as a young man in a white garment standing with an axe and block on the ground to his right, and on his left is the miraculous stream gushing out of the rock. In the background, beyond a river, is a turret, to represent the city of Verulam, at the foot of mountains, similar to those which are seen from the churchyard across Lake d'Aiguebelette.

At St. Alban des Villards there is a mural painting at the east end behind the altar representing St. Alban as a soldier standing on a hill, with a city nestling among mountains in the background, as on the banner at St. Alban de Montbel. There is also a painting over the west door, outside, representing St. Alban as a knight on horseback carrying a banner.

St. Alban des Villards is the only place where I found any parish records, and they do not go back further than the eighteenth century. It appears from these records that the patronal festival was kept on 25th June in 1778, which date is still given in Bottin as the patronal festival at Albanne. I suggest that the church in Savoy, having ascertained that the 25th was not the correct date, transferred the festival to the 21st, in ignorance of the fact that that is the date of the festival of St. Alban at Mayence. There is a note by the last curé that he had satisfied himself that the patron was St. Alban of England, and therefore the 22nd was the correct date. It is recorded that in 1834 the authorities decided that the church should be rebuilt, as it was in a dilapidated condition and was partially buried, so

¹ The originals of the letters quoted are now in the Hertfordshire County Museum, St. Albans.

that it was necessary to go down steps to reach the door. The old church is stated to have been in the Gothic style and appears to have been very ancient. M. Suiffet told me that apparently medieval travellers from England to Italy via Savoy passed through four villages called after the British protomartyr between Chambéry and the Italian frontier. The present road and railway to Mont-Cenis run up the valley of the Arc, which is a gradual ascent, but, according to M. Suiffet, previous to the tenth or eleventh century this valley was impassable in consequence of a chain of little lakes along the precipitous sides of the mountains, which prevented the present road being made until the action of water had worn away the barriers which held up the lakes. Consequently the road, after passing through Chambéry and St. Alban Laysse, as it does now, had to turn aside through St. Alban Hurtières, up to St. Alban des Villards, which is 1,100 metres above the sea, down into the valley, up again over the Col de la Grande-Chatte, down again and up to Albanne, which is a little higher than St. Alban des Villards, and so into Italy.

I also visited St. Alban Laysse near Chambéry. The church was rebuilt in 1838. There is a mural painting on the east wall of the apse representing St. Alban kneeling on a hill, wearing a garment very like the smock frock of the Savoyard peasant; an angel, hovering about the saint's head to his right, is about to place a wreath of laurels on his head, while three or four other angels hover above him to his left. In the background is the city of Verulam beyond the river, which is crossed by a stone bridge.

The church at Albens has three small pointed lancet windows round the apse at the east end. The central light represents St. Alban as a soldier with a palm in his right hand and a shield in his left. In the border of the picture above the saint's head is a castle or town gate.

I was much disappointed to find that all these churches were rebuilt about 1830-40. The ancient plan has, however, survived. The chancel is apsidal, and the aisles, when there are any, have apsidal east ends; the tower is in an unusual position, on the south side close to the chancel. The altar is on the chord of the apse with only a few feet between it and the east wall. There appears to be no record as to whether the custom of having a painting representing the patron saint at the east end on the wall or window is copied from the old churches. M. Suiffet believes that there was once a statue of St. Alban, as a soldier, on the reredos in his church where there is now a crucifix under a canopy, but he does not know whether it was in the present church or the older one. The saint is always represented as a layman,

in Savoy, whereas St. Alban of Mayence is always represented as a priest. The 'Legend of the Miraculous Spring', which forms a prominent feature in the story of our St. Alban, is well known in Savoy, and M. Suiffet told me that consequently St. Alban is believed to have power over water, and is specially invoked in seasons of drought, as in 1911.

The curés of St. Alban d'Ay, St. Alban en Montagne, and St. Alban sous Sampzon in the diocese of Viviers and department of Ardèche, have all informed me that their churches have been dedicated to our St. Alban from time immemorial, and the latter sent me a copy of the special lection for St. Alban's day (June 22) used in the diocese. This lection mentions the visit of Germanus to the tomb of St. Alban, and states that many churches in the diocese are dedicated to St. Alban.

I came to the conclusion that the legend of St. Alban survived the barbarian invasions of France, from the above evidence, before my attention had been drawn to Professor Meyer's book, *The Legend of St. Alban the Protomartyr of England in texts before Bede*. Plummer suggests that Bede must have followed earlier written lives of St. Alban,¹ and Meyer claims to have found two such manuscripts, one in Turin and one in Paris, both very similar to Bede. He argues that the story was probably first reduced to writing in central France between the years 500 and 540, and has, apparently, formed his opinion entirely from these manuscripts without knowing that there are places in France called after our St. Alban, and many churches dedicated to him, especially in Dauphiné and Savoy. If Meyer is correct, there were, probably, written lives of St. Alban in Vienne and the neighbourhood when Benedict Biscop went there, in the seventh century, and, if so, it is not likely that he returned home without a copy, and, as Bede was brought up by Benedict Biscop, surely we may believe that this is how he obtained his information.

Thanks were ordered to be returned for these communications.

¹ Note on Book I, cap. vii, 'It is tolerably certain that this chapter of Bede is based on some earlier acts of St. Alban, but so far these have not been discovered.'

THURSDAY, 28th JANUARY, 1915.

Sir ARTHUR JOHN EVANS, Knt., D.Litt., F.R.S.,
President, in the Chair.

Percival Davis Griffiths, Esq., was admitted a Fellow.

On the nomination of the President the following were appointed Auditors of the Society's accounts for the past year:

Francis William Pixley, Esq.
Cecil Arthur Tennant, Esq., B.A.
Jerome Nugent Bankes, Esq.
Edward Neil Baynes, Esq.

Sir HERCULES READ, Vice-President, exhibited a bronze stirrup-shaped object of the Late-Celtic period, of a type well known, but of which the use was uncertain. The example shown possessed, however, a novel feature which helped somewhat towards the elucidation of the problem. Professor Ridgeway, in his book on *The Origin of the Thoroughbred Horse*, had propounded a theory that the object was attached to the yoke of a chariot to prevent the reins, on being slackened, from falling beneath the horse's feet. This theory was founded on the occurrence of similar shaped articles in wood on an Egyptian chariot of the fifteenth century B.C., now in the Museum at Florence. The contention now put forward was that the article was rather used as a head ornament, and the following arguments were suggested in support of this theory: (i) The existence of two sockets on the example exhibited, a feature not known on any other example, was fatal to Professor Ridgeway's theory, while the sockets would be of use if the object was a head ornament. (ii) In many cases of existing examples the ornamental features would not be seen at all if the point of the object were hanging downwards, as suggested by Professor Ridgeway. (iii) The ancient Britons in the first half of the first century A.D. had a much better and more practical apparatus for preventing the reins from falling, viz. the terret, an object in use at the present day in practically the same form.

Mr. COCKERELL drew attention to the sickle-shaped metal objects seen in Italy below the necks of oxen, and attached to the yoke by a piece of rope. He could not explain the use of these pendants, but thought the custom might throw light on the purpose served by the spur-shaped object on exhibition.

The suggestion that it was a decoration on the top of the horse's head was not entirely satisfactory, as it could not be firmly fixed in that position.

Mr. LEEDS accepted the solution put forward in the paper, but inquired whether the two projections on the inner curve would not chafe the horse's neck.

Sir HERCULES READ in reply suggested that the sickle-shaped pendant was derived from the use of boar's tusks in pairs arranged in a crescent. He thought the 'spur' would fit on a horse's neck, which had a section something of vesica form. Mr. Armstrong had successfully fitted some Dublin specimens on the neck of a model of a race-horse, a more unyielding mass than the neck of a living horse.

The exhibit will be published in *Archaeologia*.

The CURATOR OF CHELTENHAM MUSEUM exhibited an iron currency-bar of a new denomination, from Salmonsbury Camp, Bourton-on-the-Water, Gloucestershire, on which Mr. REGINALD SMITH read the following notes :

Another discovery concerning the ancient Britons affords an opportunity of bringing up to date two papers on the ancient British bar-currency which I had the honour of laying before the Society in 1905 and 1908 (*Proceedings*, xx, 179; and xxii, 338). Noticing in the Cheltenham Museum report for 1914 the acquisition of a 'sword' from Bourton-on-the-Water, a well-known site for currency-bars, I made further inquiries, and ascertained from the Curator, Mr. William Jones, who has readily given all the information in his power, that the specimen weighed $16\frac{1}{2}$ oz., and was one of a hundred found carefully packed together in Salmonsbury Camp. That is apparently 'the Camp' referred to in previous records of one find, and lies about half a mile from Bourton-on-the-Water, on the north-east side. The Ordnance map calls it the Roman camp, and marks the spot where 'Roman swords were found in 1860'. Mr. G. B. Witt's map shows Chastleton Camp near Addlestrop station, Salmonsbury near Bourton, and Icomb Camp between them.

The details known to me in 1905 may here be repeated. At a place called 'the Camp', a hundred and forty-seven examples were found closely packed together in a gravel pit about $1\frac{1}{2}$ ft. from the surface,¹ and the remains of a box are said to have accompanied them.² Another account³ says a hundred and forty

¹ *Proceedings*, 2nd Ser., i, 233.

² *Collectanea Antiqua*, vi, 6.

³ *Proc. Oxford Archit. and Hist. Soc.*, i, 5.

were found lying edgewise in two rows of seventy, one above the other, in the middle of the camp not far from Addlestrop station. A third reference¹ to the Bourton find, for which I am indebted to Mr. H. St. G. Gray, shows how widely accounts of the same event can differ in detail. Thomas Wright describes 'two sword-like blades of iron' exhibited by Professor Buckman, 'selected from a hundred and twenty similar examples found at Bourton-on-the-Water in Gloucestershire. The examples here engraved measure respectively $31\frac{1}{2}$ in. and 34 in. in length. They are of the form and length of blades of swords, yet the metal at the end is bent into imperfectly formed sockets not large or strong enough to hold them firmly at the end of staves; for which they seem at first sight to have been intended, to serve as spears. When found they were all carefully arranged, socket and point, as though they had been packed together in a chest; but no remains indicating any chest were found with them. A third example, measuring 31 in. in length and found at Minety, Wilts., was exhibited at the same time. Similar weapons have been found at Hod Hill, near Blandford in Dorset, and within the entrenchments at Meon Hill in Gloucestershire; in the latter case no less than three hundred and ninety-four having been discovered in 1824, arranged like those at Bourton.'

There is one specimen from Bourton in the British Museum, and another in the Reading Museum, the weights of which are 8,094 grains = 525 grammes, and 7,109 grains = 461 grammes, the deficiency of the latter being due to a lost handle. The former is a good deal short of the standard weight for double the unit, but the average of twenty-three (some imperfect) from various sites is 8,793 grains = 571 grammes, the deficiency being about $1\frac{1}{2}$ oz. Av., an amount easily lost by rusting. Sir Walter Essex has a specimen said to have been found in 1860, now broken across with the handle imperfect; length $31+1$ in., weight $21+\frac{1}{2}$ oz., evidently a double unit.

The present specimen (fig. 1), however, is not of the same denomination but a unit and a half, weighing $16\frac{1}{2}$ oz. Av. (7,155 grains = 464 grammes). This must belong to a second hoard of 147 found, by one Ashwin, probably in the year 1882, in gravel-digging about 10 yds. from the end of Bury's Bank (part of Salmonsbury), according to a note by the late Dr. Moore of Bourton, whose son, Mr. G. F. Moore, has obligingly communicated the above particulars, and states that this hoard is distinct from that found near Addlestrop station in 1860; but the agreement in numbers is remarkable. The following specimens appear to belong to the later hoard:

¹ *Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.*, xix (1863), 104, pl. 9, figs. 7, 8 (Bourton) and 9 (Minety).

Cheltenham Museum	32 in.	16 $\frac{1}{2}$ oz.
Gloucester Museum	32 $\frac{1}{2}$ in.	17 oz. (rusted)
" "	30 $\frac{1}{2}$ in.	19 $\frac{1}{2}$ oz. (point missing)
Streatham Library	29 $\frac{1}{2}$ in. +	16 $\frac{1}{2}$ oz. + (imperfect)
Mr. Parker Brewis, F.S.A. ¹	30 $\frac{1}{4}$ + $\frac{1}{2}$ in.	14 + $\frac{1}{2}$ oz. (imperfect)
Mr. G. F. Moore	29 in.	18 $\frac{1}{2}$ oz.
" "	30 $\frac{1}{2}$ in.	16 $\frac{1}{2}$ oz.

These are sufficient to show that a weight of about 16 $\frac{1}{2}$ oz. was intended (the average being 16 $\frac{3}{4}$ oz.), and the number of denominations is thus raised to six, viz. :

PRESUMED STANDARD WEIGHTS.

Denomination.	Grains.	Grammes.	Avoirdupois.
Quarter-unit . . .	1,192	77.4	2 $\frac{3}{4}$ oz.
Half-unit	2,385	154.8	5 $\frac{1}{2}$ oz.
Unit	4,770	309.7	11 oz.
Unit-and-a-half . .	7,155	464.6	16 $\frac{1}{2}$ oz.
Double-unit . . .	9,540	619.4	22 oz.
Quadruple	19,080	1,238.8	44 oz.



Fig. 1. CURRENCY-BAR FROM SALMONSBURY CAMP ($\frac{1}{8}$).

As a form of treasure these bars would be stored in places of security, and the safest places of the period were the fortified camps that are often situated on ancient trackways later adopted by the Romans. The relation of Bourton-on-the-Water to the Fosse Way and Ryknield Street is shown in the last volume of *Proceedings* (xxvi, 207); and Ham Hill, another stronghold adjoining the same highway, has also produced currency-bars (vol. xxi, 139). There were also two ancient British trackways in the vicinity of Hunsbury or Dane's Camp near Northampton,² where one bar was found.

To the examples cited in previous papers it is only necessary to add the quarter-unit found in Wookey Hole, Somerset, and described by our Fellow Mr. Balch in *Archaeologia*, lxii, 574; but the opportunity may be taken of stating that the iron bar found in Lyneham barrow, Oxon., has recently been presented

¹ I am also indebted to Mr. Brewis for a clue to the others in this list.

² *Assoc. Archit. Soc's. Reports*, xviii, Northants, p. 54.

to the British Museum by Lord Moreton, and is evidently *not* a currency-bar, as the description in *Proceedings*, xv, 410, led one to believe.

About fifty specimens have now been weighed, and, apart from a small group found at Malvern, conform fairly well with the standards fixed on other grounds. To the Late-Celtic bronze weight from Neath and the stone weight in Mayence Museum may now be added perhaps another one of stone found at Wroxeter, marked I and weighing $11\frac{1}{2}$ oz. according to Wright's *Uriconium*, p. 165. The other two bear the same mark, and 11 oz. is the unit weight for the currency-bars. It would be interesting to confirm this by a find in Belgium, but the account¹ does not err on the side of precision. A cheese-shaped weight of stone ('d'une pâte calcaire siliceuse') from the province of Namur bore the mark IIII and weighed '1 kilogramme 25 centigrammes ($2\frac{1}{2}$ livres)'. An appeal to a well-known almanack puts us in a dilemma. A centigram being the hundredth part of a gramme, the weight would be 1000.25 grammes = 15,404 grains; but according to the same authority the French pound is 7,554 grains, and the alternative weight of the stone is therefore 18,885 grains, that is about 3,480 grains or 8 oz. Av. more than 1 kilogram, 25 centigrams. Scientific accuracy cannot be expected in the division or weighing of rude iron bars, but this margin is anything but a trifle; and the uncertainty is all the more annoying as the weight was evidently four times the unit of a system, and was found with a large amphora, silver denarii, including one apparently of Faustina the elder, pottery, and a brass of Septimius Severus (193-211). The weight was 2.6 in. in diameter, and had been cracked by fire, which probably diminished the weight to some extent. If we suppose centigram (0.154 grain) a mistake for dekagram (154 grains), the weight would be $15,400 + 3,850 = 19,250$ grains, somewhat in excess of $2\frac{1}{2}$ French pounds, but perhaps that was meant only as a rough approximation. The unit in that case would be 4,812 grains, against the British unit of 4,770 grains.

In 1912 it seemed to me desirable, in discussing the finds at Hunsbury or Dane's Camp near Northampton,² to prepare a list of the localities yielding each denomination of the bar-currency, also a map showing that the sites were with one exception included in a square with its angles at Bridport, Leominster, Northampton, and Portsmouth. For the benefit of those Fellows who are not also members of the Archaeological Institute I may quote a few sentences on the relation of the iron currency to the coinage, for the two overlap considerably and may have been to

¹ *Annales de la Société archéologique de Namur*, vii (1862), 260.

² *Arch. Journ.*, lxi, 424.

some extent contemporary. It will be seen from Sir John Evans's map of the distribution of inscribed coins that the area referred to was at one time occupied by people with a coinage, whether minted locally or imported from the south-east of England is immaterial. The inscribed coins go back at least to the time of Tasciovanus (or Tasciovals), who reigned from 30 B.C. to A.D. 5, and the uninscribed are held to begin about 150 B.C. The latter group is represented in Dorset, where the bar-currency also occurs, whereas 'the introduction of the use of money into Gloucestershire and the north of Wilts. and Somerset does not appear to have taken place until some time after the days of Julius Caesar'.¹ The total absence of British coins on the Hunsbury site is not surprising in view of the early La Tène brooches found there, dating from about 400 B.C.; and the obvious inference is that the iron currency is earlier than the coins in districts where both are found. No currency-bars from the eastern counties, Kent, Surrey, or Sussex have been found, or at least published; but as those parts of England nearest the Continent were in Caesar's time ahead of the interior in all branches of civilization, it is possible that the iron currency was from the first confined to the centre of Southern England, where it was subsequently superseded by the gold coinage introduced from the south-east. But though the British mints no doubt began in the second century before the Christian era, Caesar's mention of the bar-currency (which he probably saw in use) shows that the coinage was not fully established in the interior at the time of his descent on Britain.

Currency-bars might be expected at Hengistbury (on the Hampshire coast near Christchurch), but recent excavations have not brought any to light. If this is not merely an accident, it might be accounted for by a break in the occupation of that headland fort, for it is clear that much of the pottery belongs to the early La Tène (if not to the Hallstatt) period, and a large number of the latest British coins (attributed to the time of Hadrian) were found with Roman pieces. The occurrence of the earliest British coins would account for the absence of currency-bars, and vice versa; but in the absence of both no conclusion can be drawn. Other sites give a slight clue to the course of events; for instance, Hod Hill near Blandford, Dorset, a prehistoric camp adapted by the Romans, yielded Roman and British coins as well as currency-bars, but the British pieces were all of late types and debased metal; so that the three groups may well represent different periods in the occupation of the site, the bars having no doubt circulated before coins were known. Glastonbury has produced two currency-bars well up to the standard weight, but

¹ Evans, *Coins of the Ancient Britons*, 41.

no Roman and only one British coin, a tin piece dating from the first half of the first century after Christ; yet the brooches show an occupation considerably earlier, and the presumption is that the earliest British coinage did not reach so far west.

My attention has been called by Mr. Thurlow Leeds, F.S.A., to two iron bars with arched flanges at one end found at Bigbury Camp near Canterbury, and in his opinion probably currency-bars. They are illustrated in the *Archaeological Journal*, lix, 215, pl. ii, fig. 4, B, but are I think rightly described as plough-shares. One is in the Maidstone Museum, and the Curator has kindly sent me the following particulars: length, 17.3 in.; width about the middle, 1.8 in., and thickness at the same place, 0.6 in. The heaviest currency-bar known is under 43 oz. and measures about 31 in., whereas the Bigbury specimen weighs exactly 48 oz., and is little more than half the length. It seems therefore too massive for a currency-bar, and does not correspond to the standard observed in nearly all known cases; further, it was found a good distance east of the square that embraces nearly all the finds, and in a district where coinage must have been introduced from the Continent at the earliest date.

As so much depends on the geographical distribution, it is advisable to give under their counties the various localities in which currency-bars are known to have been discovered, with the numbers found on each occasion. For the distribution of the various denominations, the reader is referred to the *Archaeological Journal*, lxix, 424.

LOCALITIES AND NUMBERS OF CURRENCY-BARS FOUND.

Worcestershire.—Malvern (two hoards of 150 each).

Littleton (a handle in Worcester Museum).

Gloucestershire.—Meon Hill (hoard of 394).

Bourton-on-the-Water (two hoards; numbers given as 147, 140, and 120).

Northants.—Hunsbury (one specimen).

Berkshire.—Maidenhead (seven or eight in bundle).

Somerset.—Wookey Hole (three specimens in fragments).

Glastonbury (two of different denominations).

Ham Hill or Hamdon (large number found).

Dorset.—Hod Hill (at least seventeen found).

Spettisbury (at least five found).

Hampshire.—Winchester (four in British Museum).

Isle of Wight.—Ventnor (two found together 6 ft. deep).

Wiltshire.—Minety (one described in *Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.*, xix, 105).

Devon.—Holne Chase (about a dozen specimens).

It was a great satisfaction to find that our late honorary Fellow, Joseph Déchelette, whose heroic death at the front has deprived archaeology of one of its most zealous and successful votaries, accepted the theory of British currency-bars in the last volume of his *Manuel* that has appeared. Professor Haverfield has also published a note¹ endorsing the proposed restoration of *tales* to Caesar's text,² that has been a mystery for so many centuries; and Dr. Rice Holmes devotes a few lines to it in his *Ancient Britain*, p. 251.

The theory propounded in the *Manuel*,³ and at greater length in *Revue Numismatique*, 1911, i (reprinted in the same author's *La Collection Millon*, 191), is that the bar-currency was derived from the similar use of bundles of iron spits, a handful being called a drachm, in the original sense of that word. Whether Pheidon of Argos deposited such bundles in the Heraeum after calling them in as obsolete or in order to preserve the standard weight or dimensions, has been disputed; but the fact remains that such a deposit has been discovered there in recent times; and Déchelette drew attention to a bundle of spits carried by an attendant in the procession represented on the Certosa bucket. They occur also in Etruscan tombs of the eighth to sixth centuries; and retain their original form in Gaul at least to the end of the fifth century B.C., as specimens were found in the warrior's tomb of Somme Bionne.

The series of weights found at Melandra Castle, Glossop, agree exactly with the above standard, giving many smaller denominations;⁴ and others from Charterhouse in the Mendips (Taunton Museum) agree fairly well with the currency-bars, but it is difficult to bring the ancient British coinage into relation with these weights. The gold stater minted in this country averaged about 84 grains (about two-thirds of a sovereign), and the quarter-stater of 24 grains was approximately of the same weight as the silver piece; but there is no obvious relation between 84 grains and the lowest iron weight of 1,192 grains, and it is more than likely that two standards were in use, five staters weighing a Roman ounce (420.8 grains). Perhaps

¹ *Classical Review*, 1905, 206.

² *De Bello Gallico*, Book V, chap. xii : *aleis, aliis, anulis*, and other readings have been proposed, but there is now archaeological support for one group of manuscripts giving *utuntur . . . tales ferreis ad certum pondus examinatis pro nummo*.

³ Déchelette, *Manuel d'archéologie préhistorique*, vol. ii, part 2, 799; part 3, 1557.

⁴ *Journ. Derbyshire Arch. and Nat. Hist. Soc.*, xxv, 165; xxviii, 166: Professor Conway in *Melandra Castle*, Report for 1905, p. 109. The lowest weight is 147 grains, representing one thirty-second of the unit, or 149 grains.

the second edition of Professor Ridgeway's *Origin of Metallic Currency* will clear up this and other problems in ancient British metrology.

J. H. C. EVELYN, Esq., exhibited a series of thin bronze vessels including water-clocks of the Early Iron Age, discovered at Wotton, Surrey, on which Mr. REGINALD SMITH read the following paper:

The views submitted to the Society in 1907 with regard to the use of water-clocks by the ancient Britons have met with no serious criticism, but we have had to wait nearly eight years for further light on the subject, and this time it comes in the proverbial flood. It was near Wotton House, the romantic seat of the Evelyn family, that a number of bronze vessels belonging to this category were found within one of cauldron shape, two feet below the surface, in September last. The spot was a little beyond Hollow Lane, west of the Home Farm House, and immediately south of the main road between Dorking and Guildford. The river Tillingbourne, a tributary of the Wey, flows 80 ft. below at a distance of about a quarter of a mile to the south, and being a mill-stream is held up at various points, forming lakes¹ of exquisite beauty. Whether the ancient Britons stored its water in any way is immaterial, but the proximity of the bronze vessels to an unfailing supply is significant in view of the Baschurch find in Shropshire and another in Moorfields, London, an area turned into a swamp by the Roman wall but traversed originally by the Walbrook.

The exact site was marked on a plan by Mr. H. E. Malden, who saw the excavation in progress in company with the estate agent, Mr. H. C. Bradshaw. With Mrs. Evelyn's permission, the discovery was communicated to the Surrey Archaeological Society² through its secretary, Mr. Hilary Jenkinson, F.S.A., who brought it to the notice of our Fellow Mr. Mill Stephenson, and the present writer. The next move was made officially by our Vice-President, Sir Hercules Read, as Keeper of British and Medieval Antiquities at the British Museum; and a personal visit resulted in permission being given for the exhibition of the find to the Society. In the interval Mr. Evelyn, apprised of the event at the front, has generously offered the bronzes as a gift to the Trustees of the British Museum, and this addition to an interesting series will be much appreciated in the new gallery to be devoted to the Early Iron Age in its widest

¹ For the importance of lakes in the Druidic cult, see *Proceedings*, xxi, 330.

² A preliminary note on the discovery is printed in vol. xxvii of that Society's *Collections*, p. 149.

sense, covering the periods named after Hallstatt and La Tène, as well as the Anglo-Saxon and foreign Teutonic civilizations.

According to Mr. Malden, the bronzes had been packed together with hay, and the hard sand all round was found on careful examination to be undisturbed, so that the objects may be presumed to constitute the entire deposit. Ten vessels can be distinguished, the smaller being in good or fair condition, and now restored to shape with a little solder and wire; but the four larger and thinner specimens have suffered severely. By a fortunate accident the profiles of all can be determined, and the figures accompanying a detailed description show the section on the left and elevation on the right, all reduced from diagrams of natural size. The restoration of the remainder will be proceeded with on conservative lines, and due prominence given to a hoard that now seems to have had more than one parallel, not too well described, in the past.

Before proceeding to describe in order the bowls that may be divided into three groups, and were apparently used for measuring time and for other purposes, it will be convenient to discuss the bronze vessel of frying-pan form (fig. 1) that stands alone and calls for another explanation. It is of stout metal with base between an oblong and oval, and sides bent outwards but not far from vertical. At the ends the side gradually rises 1.6 in. vertically above the bottom, the normal height being 1.2 in. The base measures outside 9.5 in. by 8.2 in. and is practically flat. All that is left of the handle is a plate 1.7 in. long with a vertical iron rivet and a pair of bronze ears bent over to form a socket and pierced by a stout iron pin still in position, and partly embedded in a ferruginous mass identified by Mr. Lyell as sand cemented by iron rust.

A remarkable parallel that clears up more than one doubtful point is to be found in *Archaeologia*, xvi, 364, pl. LXIX. In 1807 Mr. Thomas Walford exhibited 'nine thin culinary vessels of copper (probably bronze), which had been discovered 3 ft. below the surface of the earth in the month of May preceding, at the corner of Rodenfield, in the village of Sturmere in Essex, by the side of the Roman road mentioned in *Archaeologia*, xiv, 71, and not more than 90 rods distant from the Roman station there mentioned. They were found closely packed within each other, and covered with a large flat vessel.' Two hemispherical bowls and one somewhat flatter with flat rim are represented (fig. 2) with a rod in two pieces, and a flat vessel of frying-pan form with a grip for the handle that was fixed by means of a stout pin exactly like the Wotton specimen; but unfortunately no scale is supplied.

In my former paper reference was made to Mr. Thurston's

account of the modern practice of announcing the hour as measured by the water-clock in India. The time taken in filling the bowl by percolation is known as a *gari* or *gulli*, and is reckoned to be $22\frac{1}{2}$ minutes, there being therefore sixty-four in the twenty-four hours. At each sinking of the bowl a gong is struck by the attendant, and it is just possible that we have here repre-

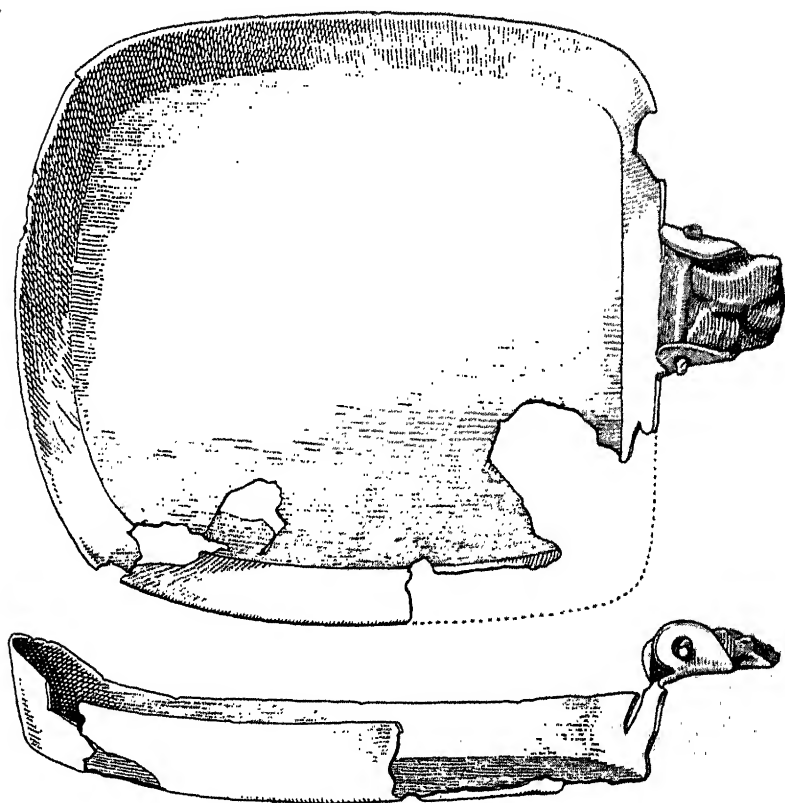


Fig. 1. BRONZE VESSEL, WOTTON ($\frac{1}{3}$).

sented from Essex the gong and beater used by the ancient Britons for an identical purpose. In any case it seems clear that the vessel like a frying-pan formed an essential part of the equipment; and the corollary is that the Sturmere bowls were also water-clocks, though no mention is made in the brief account quoted above of any perforation. The smaller bowl is half the inner diameter of the bowl with flat lip, and the latter has practically the same diameter as the larger hemispherical bowl.

It may be presumed that the remainder of the find was in poor condition.

In the Westhall series, to be noticed later in another connexion

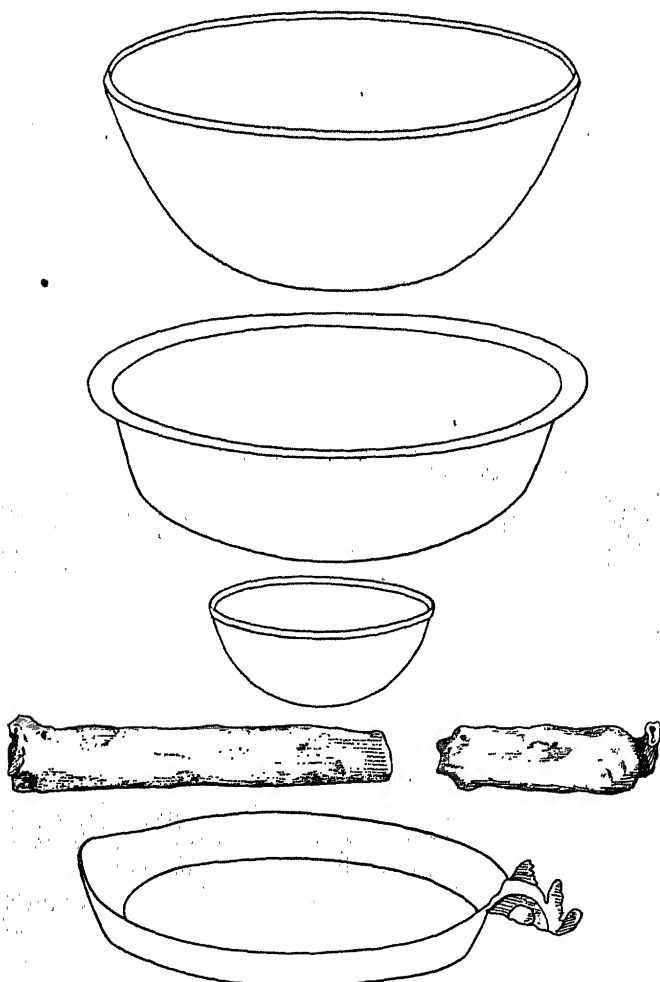


Fig. 2. BRONZE VESSELS, STURMERE, ESSEX.

(p. 82), there is a flat-bottomed bronze vessel like a diminutive frying-pan, the handle unfortunately missing. It is 6 in. in diameter, and accompanied by a flat bronze bar 5.5 in. long with curved projections in the middle of each side. In view of the Sturmere and Wotton deposits it is perhaps not fanciful to consider these

also as the gong and hammer used by the attendant in charge of the embossed water-clock of which the base remains.

Another discovery of the same sort was recorded in *Archaeologia*, xiv, 275, pl. XLIX, by Sir Joseph Banks in 1800, and consisted of eight copper (probably bronze) vessels found more than forty years previously several yards below the surface in sinking a mine-shaft on Long Rake, in the eastern part of Halker mountain, Flint-

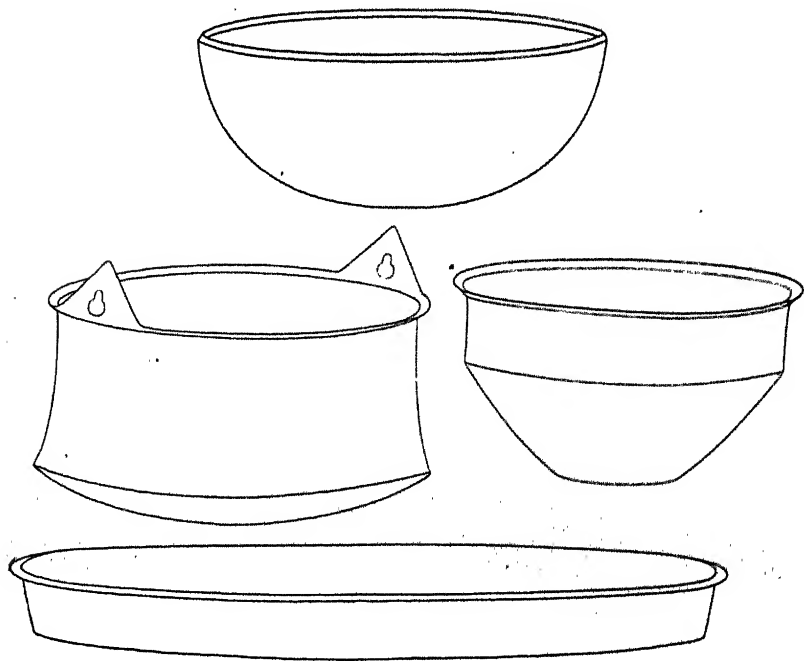


Fig. 3. BRONZE VESSELS FROM FLINTSHIRE.

shire. They are described as remarkably thin, and fall into four classes (fig. 3): (1) Like one from Icklingham (fig. 15) in the British Museum but with two pierced triangular lugs standing up on the rim, like a group of vessels of the Anglo-Saxon period; their diameters at the mouth being 10.5, 11.5, and 14.5 in. (2) A single specimen with open mouth and vertical neck, the lower part being a truncated cone, diameter of mouth 8.7 in. (3) A shallow pan with flat bottom and nearly vertical sides, much like fig. 1; the diameter is 17.7 in. but part of the side is broken away and it is therefore impossible to say if it ever had a handle. (4) Three bowls with bevelled rims like fig. 10, the diameters being 4.5, 9.25, and 10.75 in. The series may or may not have

included water-clocks, but the shallow pan, when compared with those from Wotton, Westhall, and Sturmere, certainly justifies the suspicion that this hoard was originally a time-keeper's outfit.

There is a specimen practically identical with that from Wotton in the London Museum (Lancaster House), found in the City of London apparently in association with Roman remains.

What seems to be another parallel is briefly described and fortunately figured in *Archaeological Journal*, vi, 105, and in the Lincoln volume of the Institute (1848), on plate between pp. xxxii and xxxiii.¹ It is described as an iron ladle about $5\frac{1}{2}$ in. long, with flat bottom ($3\frac{1}{2}$ in. long) and fairly long handle, found at Lagore, near Dunshaughlin, co. Meath; and is illustrated with a bronze bowl $5\frac{1}{2}$ in. in diameter and 3 in. high, but not further described.

These utensils of frying-pan form cannot have been used for culinary purposes as the Westhall specimen is too small, and it may be assumed that all had wooden handles which would never have stood the fire. Even if not used as gongs for announcing each sinking of the perforated bowl, they were evidently for some ceremonial purpose and formed part of the water-clock equipment. Apart from the evidence of association, one might be tempted to compare them with the shallow circular *patellae* with long handles found with Late-Celtic remains at Aylesford and Welwyn (*Archaeologia*, lii, 378, and lxiii, 18), but in the latter cases there can be no doubt that the bronzes were imported ready-made from Italy, where the system of time-keeping had been different for centuries.

The other bronzes from the Wotton hoard will now be described in order according to their types, the unique bowl being taken first and the others following in three groups. A summary in tabular form is furnished to facilitate comparison with other vessels that are of similar form or bear traces of perforation suggesting use as water-clocks.

No. 1 (fig. 4). Shallow bronze bowl with vertical sides and indented base, in the centre of which is a circular perforation three-sixteenths of an inch (4 mm.) in diameter. The lip is slightly thickened, and from it to the

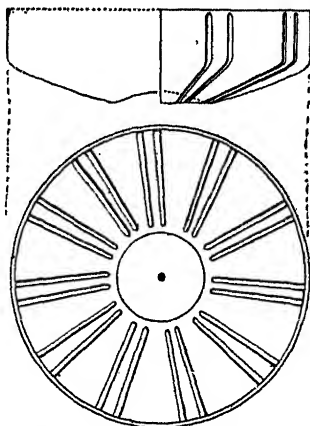


Fig. 4. EMBOSSED BRONZE BOWL WITH PERFORATION, WOTTON ($\frac{1}{2}$).

¹ Reproduced in Dr. Munro's *Lake-dwellings of Europe*, 354.

central boss run eleven pairs of radiating embossed ribs. It is damaged most at the junction of the sides and base, but on the whole is in good preservation, and the rim has now been strengthened with wire. The metal is beaten out thin, but the boss is perceptibly thicker. The patination inside is a fine green, but outside the patinated surface is mostly covered with a brown deposit, and the sides are rather pitted by rust. The maximum diameter is 9.6 in., the lip being a trifle incurved and thickened; the height 2.9 in. When patched, it sank in $18\frac{1}{2}$ minutes.

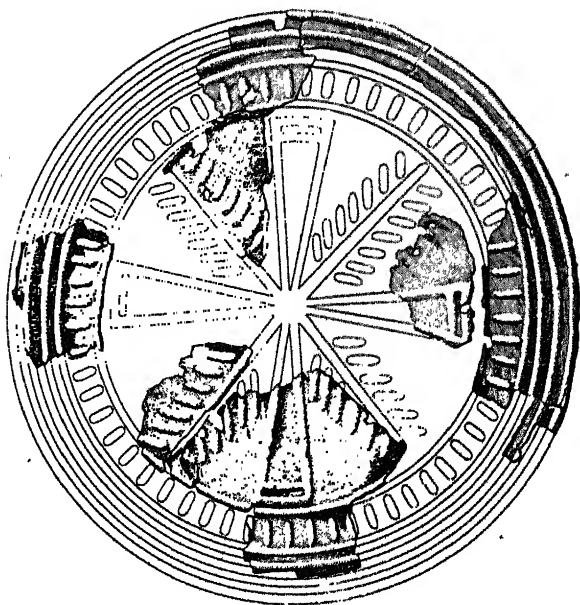


Fig. 5. EMBOSSED BRONZE FRAGMENTS, WESTHALL, SUFFOLK ($\frac{1}{2}$).

A bowl ornamented inside as this is would not be suitable for ordinary purposes, as cleaning would be a difficulty; and the presence of a perforated boss is further support to the theory that this was a water-clock that operated by resting on water and filling gradually in the prescribed time. By comparison with this unexpected form one is led to identify as the base of a water-clock some embossed bronze fragments (fig. 5) in the British Museum from Westhall, Suffolk, illustrated sixty years ago in *Archaeologia*, xxxvi, 454, pl. XXXVIII. The existing fragments give a diameter of about 6.3 in., but there is no trace of the angle and nothing to show the original diameter; the centre is also missing, so that

the perforation is not certain, but the embossed design leaves an appropriate space for it. The objects found with it are of considerable interest in themselves, including enamelled terrets and other horse-furniture, bronze ferrules or terminals, a disc embossed with a deer-like animal, a Roman bronze lamp with crescent handle, and a Roman coin of Faustina the Elder (A. D. 138-41), which at least gives a limiting date for the deposit if not for its component parts, of which three others may have belonged to a water-clock equipment. There is also the rim, with fragments of the side, of a small bowl made of thin bronze, with an outside diameter of 5.5 in.

No. 2 (fig. 6). A large cauldron-shaped vessel of thin bronze,

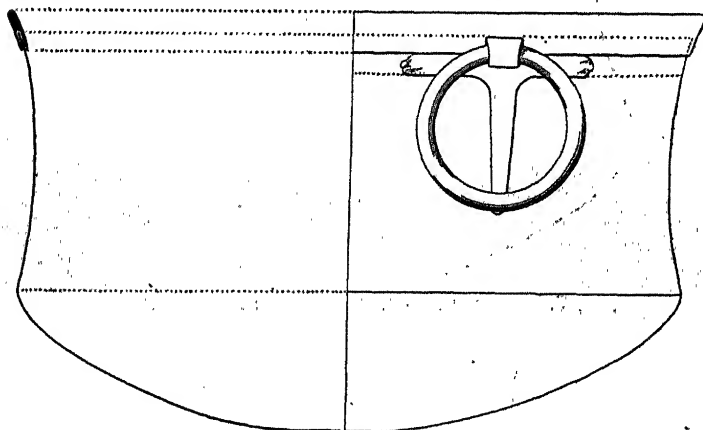


Fig. 6. BRONZE VESSEL WITH IRON RINGS, WOTTON ($\frac{1}{8}$).

now in two large pieces fairly well preserved, comprising the neck and base; the latter has a bronze plug with washer in the centre and another plug an inch distant. Astride the rim is a heavy iron band overlapping the bronze to the extent of 0.5 in. and being itself 1.4 in. deep. At opposite points outside between the rim and shoulder are traces of an upright iron band, evidently to fix the loops that held the iron ring-handles, which survive and are circular in section 0.5 in. thick and 5.5 in. in diameter outside. One of the iron rings is still in its loop, which forms the head of a T-shaped iron mount, the arms evidently passing round the neck of the vessel below the iron rim, as is clear from the corresponding iron mount with one arm 8 in. long. The one surviving loop is moulded in a manner recalling the bronze handle-loops of Bronze Age cauldrons. The measurements are fairly

certain, as the two large portions can be adjusted: height, 13.4 in.; diameter at mouth, 22.1 in., and at the shoulder, 21.1 in.

No. 3 (fig. 7). Thin bronze cauldron-shaped vessel with the profile complete in one place but much damaged and corroded. Round the lip is a heavy iron band overlapping the bronze inside and out to the extent of about 0.3 in., and being itself about 1.1 in. deep. The diameter at the mouth (15.8 in.) is as usual rather less than at the shoulder (17.6 in.), the height being now

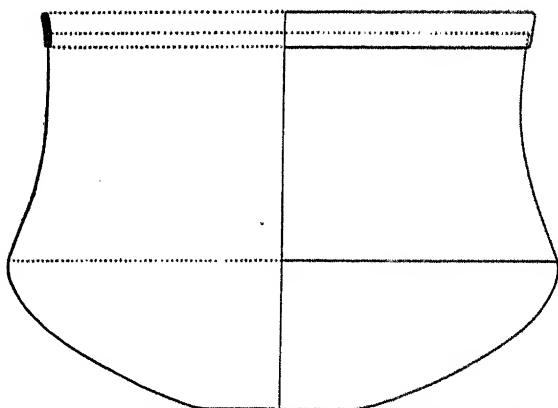


Fig. 7. BRONZE VESSEL WITH IRON RIM, WOTTON ($\frac{1}{8}$).

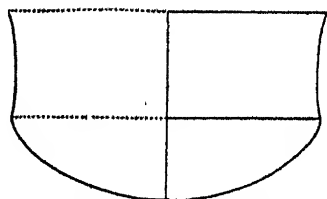


Fig. 8. BRONZE VESSEL (RESTORED), WOTTON ($\frac{1}{8}$).

12.4 in. In its present state the base is flattened at the centre; but as there is a large bronze patch in the middle with many rivets having the head outside, it is probable that the base had originally a continuous curve and was perforated at the centre. Like many others it no doubt was intended for a water-clock, but was subsequently damaged, or wore out, and was tinkered for some other purpose.

No. 4 (fig. 8). Very thin bronze bowl with incurved sides and rounded base, most imperfect but complete enough to give the profile. In one place there is an incrustation of iron on the rim, and the former existence of an iron band like those on

nos. 2 and 3 is evident from rust elsewhere. An iron band 2 in. wide, perhaps for a handle, but now much rusted, was applied vertically to the side between the lip and shoulder, and was fastened below the shoulder by several rivets: there is a corresponding plate but of bronze inside. The centre of the base is missing, so no perforation can be proved, but the vessel is so fragile that it cannot have been intended for domestic use. Recent repairs consist of two upright stays on the inner side to preserve the profile. Apart from the iron collar, the height is 6.1 in.; and in this case the mouth (10.4 in. diam.) is wider than the shoulder (10.1 in. diam.).

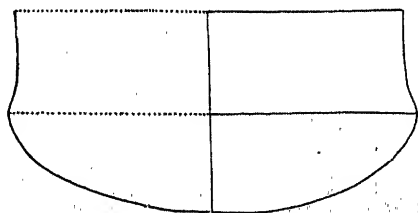


Fig. 9. BRONZE VESSEL (RESTORED), WOTTON ($\frac{1}{8}$).

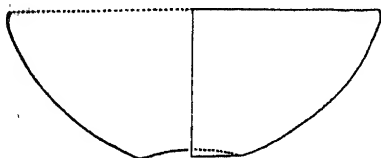


Fig. 10. BRONZE BOWL, WOTTON ($\frac{1}{8}$).

No. 5 (fig. 9). Fragments of a very thin bronze bowl of which little remains but the base, but one fortunate join gives the profile, and there are indications of a former iron collar round the rim. There are marks of straw or hay on the oxidized surface, and the base is intact, the centre having been perforated and plugged with bronze, a small washer being affixed outside. The following dimensions have been carefully estimated from the fragments: height (not including the iron collar), 6.5 in.; diameter at the shoulder, 13 in., and at the mouth, 12.3 in.

No. 6 (fig. 10). Bowl of stout bronze, almost complete but cracked and now mended. The base is indented and in the centre is a small depression $\frac{1}{4}$ in. in diameter but no perforation: the lip is thickened and curved inwards. There are some conical patches of rust especially on the outside, but inside much of the original golden surface remains. The maximum diameter is just below

the lip, 12.2 in., and at the mouth 12.1 in., the height being 4.8 in.

No. 7 (fig. 11). Bowl of stout bronze with thickened incurved lip and indented base with hole in centre, now cleared of the verdigris that concealed it. Almost complete but with cones of rust, and marks of hay outside with some sand adhering. The maximum diameter is just below the lip, 11.7 in.; the lip is 11.5 in. across, and the height 4.3 in.

No. 8 (fig. 12). Bronze bowl of fairly stout metal, in the form of a truncated cone, with narrow lip almost flat and slightly

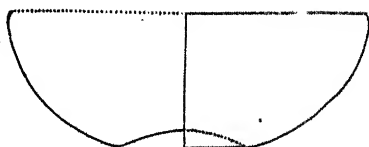


Fig. 11. BRONZE BOWL, WOTTON ($\frac{1}{8}$).

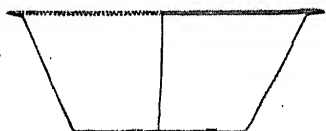


Fig. 12. BRONZE BOWL, WOTTON ($\frac{1}{8}$).

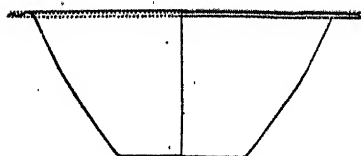


Fig. 13. BRONZE BOWL, WOTTON ($\frac{1}{8}$).

thickened. The base is flat, and has in the centre a plugged hole about three-sixteenths of an inch (4 mm.) in diameter. Inside, the middle zone of the side is engraved alternately with herring-bone pattern and double rows of triangular punch-marks, and there is a rough rope-pattern engraved round the thickened lip. It has suffered from rust most on the base and below the rim, but is rigid and almost complete. The extreme diameter is 10.1 in., and height 3.8 in., the base outside being 5.5 in. across.

No. 9 (fig. 13). Bronze bowl in the form of a truncated cone, with waved horizontal lip, in fair condition but the lip imperfect.

At the mouth the diameter is 11.4 in. (9.8 in. inside), and 4.2 in. at the base, the height being 4.7 in. The metal is fairly stout, with a slight cavity marking the centre of the base. There is some iron rust below the top outside about half-way round, but the surface is otherwise fairly clean.

DIMENSIONS AND WEIGHTS OF WOTTON BRONZE BOWLS.

	Diam. body.	Diam. mouth.	Height.	Weight (Av.).
†1. Embossed and perforated ...	9.6 in.	9.6 in.	2.9 in.	10½ + ½ oz.
§2. Largest, iron-bound, plugged	21.2 in.	22 in.	13.4 in.	—*
3. Similar, iron-bound, patched	17.7 in.	15.8 in.	12.4 in.	—
4. Smaller, same type, damaged	10.2 in.	11.5 in.	6.2 in.	—
§5. Fragments, same type, plugged ...	13 in.	12.4 in.	6.5 in.	—
6. Basin, stouter, unperforated	12.2 in.	12.1 in.	4.9 in.	33 + ¼ oz.
†7. Similar basin, perforated...	11.7 in.	11.5 in.	4.3 in.	27 + ¼ oz.
§8. Truncated cone, plugged ...	—	10.1 in.	3.8 in.	16½ + ¼ oz.
9. Similar, wavy rim, unperforated ...	—	11.4 in.	4.7 in.	20 + 1 oz.

CORRESPONDING FIGURES FOR OTHER VESSELS.

	Diam. body.	Diam. mouth.	Height.	Weight.
Carlingwark Loch (p. 93)	25 in.	—	18 in.	—
Cockburnspath no. 1 (p. 93)	21 in.	—	10 in.	—
Santon Downham (p. 88) ...	18.5 in.	17 in.	12.25 in.	—
†Baschurch (p. 88) ...	17.75 in.	17.6 in.	12 in.	55½ oz. + *
Walthamstow no. 1 (p. 88)	—	19 in. (?)	10 in. (?)	32 oz. +
Irchester no. 2 (p. 90) ...	11½ in.	—	4¾ in.	25½ oz.
†Battersea (p. 88) ...	—	14.75 in.	7.75 in.	20 oz.
Irchester no. 4 (p. 90) ...	10¾ in.	—	4¾ in.	17½ oz.
§London (p. 89) ...	11.8 in.	11.2 in.	4.6 in.	17 oz.
§Walthamstow no. 2 (p. 88)	—	14.75 in.	7.5 in.	15½ oz. +
Cockburnspath no. 2 (p. 93)	13 in.	—	7.5 in.	—
Sandy (p. 89) ...	9.1 in.	8.9 in.	3.6 in.	13½ oz.
Irchester no. 5 (p. 90) ...	9¾ in.	—	3¾ in.	9½ oz.
Irchester no. 6 (p. 90) ...	9¾ in.	—	3¾ in.	9 oz.
Lakenheath (p. 89) ...	9.1 in.	8.8 in.	3.8 in.	9 oz.
§Icklingham (p. 89) ...	7.5 in.	8 in. (?)	4.9 in. (?)	9 oz.
†Lisnacrogher Bog (p. 88)	—	6.25 in.	2.8 in.	6½ oz.
†Moorfields (p. 88) ...	—	4.9 in.	2.2 in.	2 oz. 60 gr.
†Market Overton (p. 88) ...	—	4 in.	—	—
†Lamberton Moor (p. 92) ...	4.3 in.	—	2.1 in.	—
†Stanwick (p. 88) ...	—	—	—	—

* These had iron handles and mounts which must have added considerably to the weight.

† With perforated base.

§ With plugged perforation.

Some of the specimens in the second list have been already noticed in *Proceedings*, vol. xxi, viz. Baschurch, p. 324, fig. 5; Walthamstow, p. 329; Battersea, p. 328, fig. 4; Moorfields, p. 330, fig. 3; Lisnacrogher Bog (fig. 14), p. 331; and Stanwick, p. 330. Those from Market Overton and Lamberton Moor are referred to in vol. xxii, pp. 53 and 58 respectively. The bowls from Baschurch, Walthamstow, Battersea, London, Sandy, Lakenheath, Icklingham (fig. 15), Lisnacrogher Bog, Moorfields,

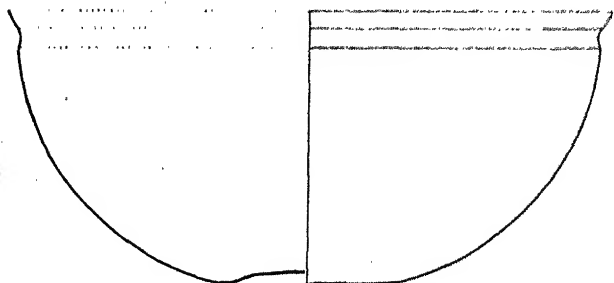


Fig. 14. PERFORATED BRONZE BOWL, LISNACROGHER BOG ($\frac{1}{2}$).

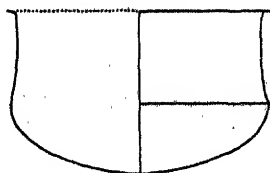


Fig. 15. BRONZE BOWL, ICKLINGHAM ($\frac{3}{8}$).

and Stanwick (fragment) are in the British Museum, where they will be joined by the Wotton series.

Six years ago, in describing for the Cambridge Archaeological Society¹ a hoard of metal found at Santon Downham, Suffolk, I ventured to suggest that the cauldron in which the other objects were found was a tinkered water-clock, and compared its dimensions with those of the Baschurch specimen in the British Museum. The addition of one from the Wotton hoard makes the comparison all the more striking, and may lead to the true identification of several cauldrons so patched or damaged at the base that the perforation can no longer be demonstrated.

¹ *Proc. Camb. Antiq. Soc.*, xiii, 147.

DIMENSIONS OF WATER-CLOCK AND TWO SIMILAR VESSELS.

	Max. diam.	Diam. of mouth.	Height.
Baschurch ...	17.75 in.	17.6 in.	12 in.
Santon Downham	18.5 in.	17 in.	12.25 in.
Wotton	17.7 in.	15.8 in.	12.4 in.

All three have, or have had, a pair of iron ring-handles with anchor-like attachments between the shoulder and the mouth; and when it is remembered that these cauldron-like vessels are of thin metal with iron mounts liable to rust, and are for the most part far from rigid or complete, this close agreement suggests, if it does not prove, that the three were all made to the same pattern and for the same purpose of measuring time, probably in some manufacturing centre from which they were sent far afield, to the south-east, eastern, and midland areas.

The type with concave neck and rounded base, as fig. 8, is represented by Wotton nos. 2-5, Baschurch, Icklingham, Santon Downham, and probably by the Carlingwark Loch and Cockburnspath specimens, though these two Scottish 'cauldrons' have not been examined from this point of view. The most striking coincidences have been discussed above, but others are important enough to be mentioned, especially if some margin be allowed for the measurements of very imperfect specimens. Wotton no. 5 has the same diameter as Cockburnspath no. 2, but is 1 in. less in height; and Wotton no. 2 agrees in diameter with Cockburnspath no. 1, the former being about double Wotton no. 4 in all three dimensions, but the weights cannot now be determined.

The Icklingham example, hitherto unpublished, was acquired by the British Museum in 1853, but no further details are recorded. It is damaged but fairly complete, and is of thin bronze slightly turned over at the lip: in the centre of the base is an iron plug, and traces of triangular attachments for a handle opposite one another below the lip, while an iron band is vertically attached in another place, perhaps of the same date as the plugging of the central perforation. The height is 4.9 in., diameter at shoulder 7.5 in., and at the mouth about 8 in. Lakenheath is seven miles distant in the north-west angle of Suffolk, and it is something more than a coincidence that bowls from these two places, though of different forms, are of exactly the same weight (9 oz.).

The basin with incurved lip and indented base, as fig. 10, is represented by two from Wotton (nos. 6 and 7), Lakenheath, Sandy, and London. Of these two are of the same dimensions (Lakenheath and Sandy) but differ in weight by about $4\frac{1}{2}$ oz.; and the London bowl and Wotton no. 7 are practically of the same dimensions but differ in weight by about 10 oz. Further, it

may be observed that the Sandy bowl is about half the weight of Wotton no. 7; and that from London about half the weight of Wotton no. 6, though there is little difference in the dimensions.

The London bowl is in perfect condition, of golden colour with black deposit probably due to contact with Thames peat. There is a small patch to cover a crack in the lip, but no sign of a handle, and its weight may therefore be regarded as certain. The head of the rivet plugging the centre is outside.

The Sandy specimen is slightly thicker than usual, and is perfect except for a hole smaller than a threepenny-piece just under the lip. In the centre is a mere indentation, resulting in a lump on the outside, and the exterior shows wheel-marks in bands with short sloping lines at regular intervals between them. Though not a water-clock, this gives an accurate standard of weight, exactly half as much again as either the Icklingham or Lakenheath specimen. This last is thinner and imperfect, though evidently of the same type: there is certainly a round hole in the centre, but as there are other holes due to corrosion it would be difficult to prove the centre was intentionally perforated.

A third type, not represented at Wotton, is hemispherical, and attention has already been drawn to the close agreement of Battersea and Walthamstow no. 2 (*Proceedings*, xxi, 329); but it should also be noticed that Walthamstow no. 1 is approximately double the weight of Walthamstow no. 2, and the Battersea specimen has no obvious weight-connexion with either. It is possible, however, that the iron hoop and rivets, of which traces only remain, brought Walthamstow no. 2 up to the weight of Battersea, and Walthamstow no. 1 to double the weight of either. It is safer in the present case to judge by dimensions, but weight was probably the more important element in the wholesale manufacture of these bowls.

The two sites are about nine miles apart, and half-way between them is Moorfields, where a small ornamented specimen was found. All four may therefore be said to belong to the same district; but the more accurate measurements rendered possible by their state of preservation make the hemispherical examples still better proof that water-clocks were made in stock sizes for wide distribution in Britain.

The long and tantalizing paper on a find of thin bronze vessels at Irchester, Northants,¹ omits some of the points essential for our present purpose, but the illustrations include four bowls (of which three are patched) of the same type as Wotton nos. 6 and 7.

¹ *Assoc. Archit. Soc. Reports*, xiii (1875), Northants, 88, plates i, ii.

The accompanying objects are of the Roman period or at least of classical origin, and evidently for ceremonial purposes, three being of skillet or patera form. The eight vessels were found in 1874, packed together some 15 in. below the surface among a number of Roman graves; and measurements are given in an appendix by Sir Henry Dryden, but there is no detailed description of the plain bowls; and from the absence of any mention of holes it must be inferred that they were unperforated. In any case the weights and dimensions bear some relation to existing specimens; and though the lip is more incurved they are of the same type as figs. 10 and 11.

BRONZE VESSELS FROM HOARD FOUND AT IRCHESTER.

		Exterior diam.	Exterior depth.	Weight.
No. 2.	...	11½ in.	4½ in.	25½ oz.
No. 4.	...	10½ in.	4½ in.	17½ oz.
No. 5.	...	9½ in.	3½ in.	9½ oz.
No. 6.	...	9½ in.	3½ in.	9 oz.

With which may be compared the following :—

London (p. 89)	...	11.8 in.	4.6 in.	17 oz.
Lakenheath (p. 89)...	...	9.1 in.	3.8 in.	9 oz.

Weight relations between bowls of different types might be regarded as accidental, or not so convincing as graduated sets of the same pattern; but in the Wotton series itself the water-clock (no. 1) is half the weight of no. 9; and no. 8 is half the weight of no. 6, the latter bowl being of the same type as that from London but double its weight. Wotton no. 8 and the London bowl are therefore about the same weight but of different shapes; in spite of this they are both plugged in the centre of the base and may have been made for the same purpose.

So much can be deduced from the Wotton series when compared with other bronze bowls of similar types in the British Museum; but another significance is given to these weights by analysis in the light of the early British bar-currency, especially by the new denomination now exhibited for the first time. It is obvious that the two systems are intimately related; and although the weights of nos. 2, 3, 4, and 5 cannot be estimated satisfactorily, the others may be tabulated as follows:—

Wotton bronze bowls (corrected weights).	Iron currency-bar standard (for details see p. 71).
No. 1. $10\frac{3}{4} + \frac{1}{2}$ oz. = 11 oz.	Unit weight, 11 oz.
No. 8. $16\frac{1}{4} + \frac{1}{4}$ oz. = $16\frac{1}{2}$ oz.	Unit-and-a-half, $16\frac{1}{2}$ oz.
No. 9. $20 + 1$ oz. = 21 oz.	Double unit, 22 oz.
No. 7. $27 + \frac{1}{4}$ oz. = $27\frac{1}{4}$ oz.	Two-and-a-half units, $27\frac{1}{2}$ oz.
No. 6. $33 + \frac{1}{4}$ oz. = $33\frac{1}{4}$ oz.	Three units, 33 oz.

No further proof seems necessary in view of the remarkable and unexpected agreement in these weights; and even apart from

these coincidences it is clear that both water-clocks and currency-bars belong to the same period, called Late-Celtic or Early British in this country and La Tène abroad. The decoration of the perforated vessel corresponding to the unit of the bar-currency (4,770 grains = 309.7 grammes) is perhaps significant, and the embossed fragments from Westhall probably belonged to just such another. Though different denominations of currency might be accepted without question, it may appear to some unlikely that bowls would be manufactured of graduated weights even for such a delicate operation as the measurement of time, when so much depends on the size of the perforation. Any doubts on this point can be dispelled by reference to ancient Hindu directions for the manufacture of exactly this kind of water-clock, referred to on the previous occasion (*Proceedings*, xxi, 328); and in this connexion it may be well to mention that Dr. J. F. Fleet is preparing two papers on ancient Indian water-clocks to be published in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* this summer. He kindly informs me that the percolating form was not known to the Hindus till after A.D. 350, so that the ancient Britons cannot have derived their system from India. The classical water-clock is known to have been on a different plan;¹ and unless our pattern can be traced to Babylon, the conclusion seems inevitable that it was a British invention.

Having noticed a small round hole in the base of a bronze bowl included in a hoard of the Roman period from Lamberton Moor, Berwickshire, now in the Edinburgh Museum of Antiquities, I expressed in 1908 my suspicions that this was another example of the Celtic water-clock, though another bowl in the hoard has a rivet in the centre of the rounded base holding a bronze button on the inside. In reply to further inquiries our Fellow Mr. Alexander Curle has kindly sent me particulars, and is inclined to think that the round hole was meant to have a rivet in it like the other, though he does not explain the purpose of the rivet. On my theory the hole was intentional to admit the water, and the other was plugged because it was no longer required for use as a clock but as an ordinary bowl. There is an exactly parallel case in the British Museum, the Battersea specimen being perforated, and one of the two from Walthamstow plugged, though both were evidently made for the same purpose.

The plugged bowl from Lamberton Moor is 3.6 in. in diameter and 2 in. high; the other is slightly larger, 4.3 in. across and

¹ Max C. P. Schmidt, *Kulturhistorische Beiträge*, Heft 2, *Die Entstehung der antiken Wasseruhr*; G. Bilfinger, *Die Zeitmesser der antiken Völker*. For ancient Chinese water-clocks see also Report of Smithsonian Institution for 1891, i, 607, reprinted from *Chinese Repository*, July, 1851.

2.1 in. high, with a round perforation 0.1 in. across. One inch below the lip, which is slightly everted, the larger bowl has a narrow metal hoop with a row of almost contiguous small bosses, the other having probably had the same ornamentation but now retaining only a trace of the hoop. The same pattern occurs on the lip of two small bronze bowls in the British Museum, one from the Londesborough Collection having a single row (diameter, 5.4 in.), and the other from the Thames a double row (diameter, 6.6 in.), but neither has any trace of a perforation in the base and the larger is quite perfect.

The Lamberton Moor find encourages the belief that water-clocks were used in Scotland, and there are two well-known hoards that have many points in agreement with the Santon Downham find, in which the 'cauldron' had been patched at the base and used to carry odds and ends of scrap metal. In a haugh adjoining the Water of Eye at Cockburnspath, Berwickshire, two large vessels of extremely thin sheet bronze were found about 15 in. below the surface, lying on blue clay below the peat. One was inverted over the other, and they contained a variety of ornaments and tools apparently of early Roman date. 'The larger one had obviously been much exposed to the fire, and repeatedly repaired; the smaller one had had handles fastened to it on opposite sides by three rivets, the holes for which remain, and it had probably been strengthened by a rim of iron, without which it would collapse, from the extreme thinness of the metal, if lifted full of water. It is probable that all were contained in a large wooden pail, as there were two large rings with staples and nails, the latter bent in and indicating a thickness of $\frac{3}{4}$ in. for the staves. The rings measure $4\frac{1}{2}$ in. in diameter.'¹ The above account, which is quoted almost verbatim, is good and independent evidence that the bronze vessels were not 'cauldrons' in the ordinary sense, and the accompanying objects lend colour to the theory that they were once water-clocks of the ordinary British pattern. The dimensions are also an interesting point. The larger is 21 in. \times 10 in., agreeing in diameter with Wotton no. 2, which is $3\frac{1}{2}$ in. higher, but this difference might be reduced by the addition of an iron rim to the Scottish specimen. The smaller is 13 in. \times 7.5 in., again agreeing in diameter with a Wotton specimen of the same type (no. 5), but being 1 in. higher: possibly the Wotton example had an iron rim to bring this dimension into agreement.

The other Scottish hoard in a 'cauldron' was found in Carlingwark Loch, Kirkcudbrightshire, and the containing vessel is exactly of the Baschurch type, but considerably larger than

¹ *Proc. Soc. Antiq. Scot.*, i (1855), 43.

any known specimen. It measures 25 in. \times 18 in.,¹ and was dredged up containing part of a bronze vessel 4 in. \times 3 in., the bronze handle of a bucket (of Late-Celtic type), a number of iron tools, portions of chain-mail and glass marked with letters in relief, no doubt of Roman origin. The containing vessel is formed of very thin plates of bronze, the bottom consisting of one large sheet, and the sides of various smaller portions, all riveted together. It is patched in various places with additional bronze plates of various sizes riveted on.

The discoveries of several bronze sets having so many features in common implies social or commercial intercourse between widely separated communities which, as we know from Caesar and Tacitus, were often rivals and sometimes enemies; and as it is unlikely that any civil or military power of the period controlled all these districts, it is not unreasonable to ascribe these common attributes of civilization to the widespread influence of the Druids. In my former paper may be found some comments on their achievements in astronomy, geography, physics, and theology, as recorded by Caesar (*Commentaries*, vi, 14), and by Pomponius Mela (bk. ii, cap. 2) about a century later; and the mere fact that the caste in Britain enjoyed greater prestige than their Gaulish colleagues, justifies us in assuming that their influence spread at least all over what is now England, not to mention Wales, where they were concentrated during the Roman occupation. It is easy to say too much about the Druids, and Dr. Rice Holmes's few pages on the subject (*Ancient Britain*, pp. 289-98) show how Celtic scholars contradict themselves and each other in dealing with the few scattered notices to be found in classical texts; but if the water-clock was invented or adopted by the Druids for the study of astronomy and the control of the calendar, specimens ought to be found in France, and a tour round the principal museums would probably bring some to light.

Professor BOYD DAWKINS inquired whether or no the Romans measured their water by distributing it through hose of ascertained diameter; and whether there was a unit size of clepsydra for measuring time by water. He thought the weights of the bowls had no special significance apart from the size of the perforations.

Mr. BUSHÉ-FOX drew attention to the different states of perforation: some were open, others blocked, and one or two of the bowls had merely a depression in the centre. It might be assumed that all were turned on the lathe, and the mere fact of

¹ *Proc. Soc. Antiq. Scot.*, vii, 7, pl. i: the diameter is given as 26 in., but see *Cat. Edinb. Mus. Antiq.*, p. 158.

holding the bronze in a certain position on the lathe would produce a hole which would be subsequently plugged with lead, iron, or other metal. In some cases the plug might have fallen out and made the perforation visible; consequently the existing perforations could be put down to the decay of the metal plug or to faulty workmanship. He had seen several bowls in the Temple Collection at the British Museum that had had perforations in the base and been subsequently plugged. Under the base appeared a knob, and the plug was flattened inside and welded to the bowl. In the Romano-British section were other examples of this accidental perforation in turning; and the same might be said of some of the Appleshaw pewter dishes. He concluded that the exhibits were nothing but ordinary bowls of the period, and thought the Santon Downham 'cauldron' could not have been beaten out very thin if it contained a collection of scrap-metal.

Sir HERCULES READ remarked that the largest Wotton vessel when found was covered outside with soot, a detail that lent some colour to the last speaker's theory; but he protested against the view that the early British craftsmen were incompetent and perforated the bases by accident. Their metal-work was equal to, if it did not surpass, any in the ancient world, even among the Greeks; and to impute an elementary fault to people capable of working such bronzes was doing them a great discredit.

The PRESIDENT thought it was not a good method of keeping time. Besides the weight, the varying fineness of the metal and the dimensions of the bowl had to be taken into consideration; and weight alone did not favour one view more than another. A very large amount of contemporary metal-work in Britain was equally fine, and was made in imitation of equally fine Italo-Greek productions.

Mr. SMITH replied that the paper dealt not only with the weights of the bowls but also their shapes and dimensions, and there were striking coincidences in all three respects. Ancient Hindu clocks were made on the same plan, according to a fixed pattern that was recorded in detail. He would not insist on the plugged bowls having previously served as water-clocks, but thought the use of such a vessel as no. 1 was fairly obvious. It had a neat round hole in the base that did not look accidental; but if it were, the maker of the bowl had proceeded to emboss an elaborate pattern after the bowl had been spoilt in the spinning process!

F. C. WELLSTOOD, Esq., exhibited a bronze penannular brooch of about the fifth century, found at Stratford-on-Avon, on which Mr. REGINALD SMITH read the following note:

The volume of *Archæologia* recently published contains an article on the evolution of the penannular brooch more especially in Ireland, and all known specimens of the suggested prototype are enumerated. As often happens, the best example comes to light as soon as the rest are published, and one is tempted to print an amended list in the hope of further developments, for there is still much to be cleared up in connexion with the penannular brooch in Britain and Ireland. Mr. Wellstood, the Secretary of Shakespeare's birthplace, sent me the brooch exhibited this evening for an opinion, stating that it was found in August last year during excavations for a new water-main, about 4 ft. below the surface (fig. 3): no other objects, except a few bones which were not preserved, were found with it. Chance finds of this sort generally have some tragic features, and it is now impossible to decide whether the bones were human or not, and whether they were burnt or belonged to an inhumation. This last point might have given a clue to the nationality of the maker or original owner; and one can only surmise that burnt bones would have been those of an Anglian invader (an early date for a Teutonic burial in the centre of England), and unburnt bones would have indicated a native burial, cremation having been given up by the Romanized Britons about the middle of the third century. In spite of its archaeological defects, however, the discovery is a most fortunate one, as this example of the type is the best known to the writer. It is in excellent preservation, with slight signs of wear, the smooth back being in its original unornamented condition and not due to friction. The front of the hoop is engraved with transverse lines and three groups of four bands or plain spaces at intervals, the appearance being as if wire had been wound closely round the entire hoop, which has an outside diameter of 3.4 in. and a circular section one-eighth of an inch across. The terminals are its best feature, being of the ordinary squared form with the angles marked off, but very clearly cut and carefully finished. The lozenge has an engraved median line, and the sheath that joins it to the hoop is not a collar but slopes away to nothing at the back. The pin is also quite typical, with a double curve no doubt due to use, and a barrel head with simple mouldings that are barely visible at the back. Its length is 3.8 in., overlapping the hoop to the extent of 0.4 in., hence as short as was consistent with security in use. The list could possibly be increased by further search in museums, but may be repeated here for convenience.

In view of its occurrence in Wales and Ireland the type cannot well be regarded as purely Roman or Anglo-Saxon; and what chronological evidence there is suggests that it flourished between the end of the Roman period and the foundation of the Anglo-



Fig. 1

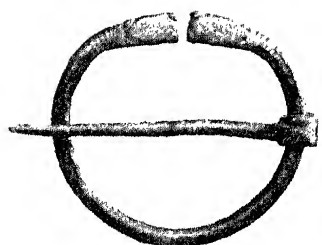


Fig. 2

ROMAN PENANNULAR BROOCHES (1)

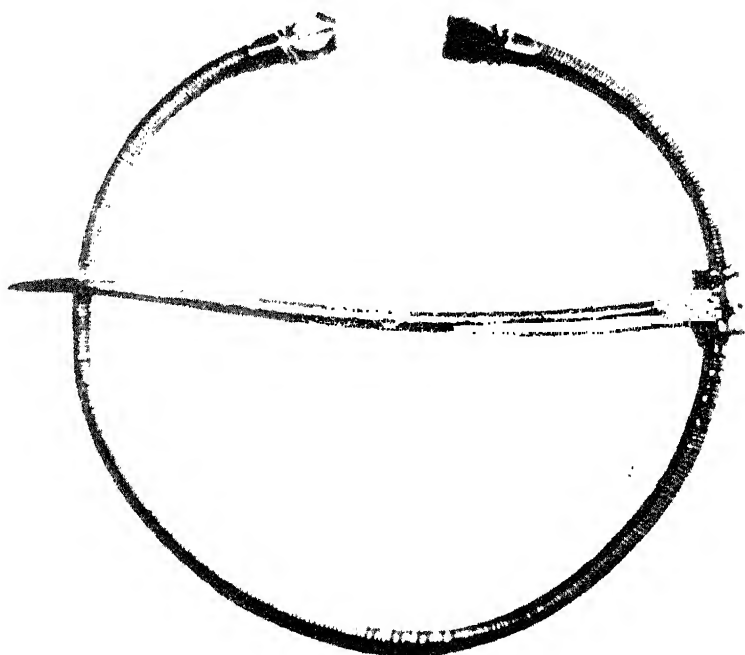


Fig. 3. BRONZE PENANNULAR BROOCH FROM STRATFORD-ON-AVON (1)

Saxon kingdoms. Little is known of Britain in the fifth century, but as the Romanized natives were in possession of what is now England, it will not be amiss to call the type Welsh, the Porth Dafarch specimen furnishing the necessary link with present-day Wales.

Stratford-on-Avon, Warwickshire (fig. 3).

Porth Dafarch, Holyhead: *Arch. Journ.*, xxxiii, 132: British Museum (*Archaeologia*, lxxv, pl. XXV, no. 1).

Caerwent, Monmouthshire.

Ireland: British Museum.

Abingdon, Berks.: *Coll. Antiq.*, iii, pl. XXXVI, fig. 4: British Museum.

Bifrons, Canterbury: *Archaeologia Cantiana*, x, 30 (where it is called a bracelet).

Oldbury Camp, Wilts.: *Wilts. Arch. Mag.*, xxiii, 216.

Leicester: *V. C. H. Leics.*, i, 228, pl. I, fig. 4: Leicester Museum.

Pike Hall, Derbyshire: Bateman Collection in Sheffield Museum.

Dowalton Lough, Wigtownshire: Munro, *Lake-dwellings of Europe*, 401, fig. 130.

Longfaugh, Crichton, Midlothian: *Cat. Edinburgh Mus.*, 223, fr3.

The newly-discovered specimen belongs therefore to a recognized type and is perhaps the best preserved of all, but details are still wanting to fix the period with absolute precision. Its origin is fairly obvious; and the accompanying illustration (fig. 2) is reproduced to show the beginnings of the type about the middle of the Roman occupation. Next the terminals the hoop is ornamented with engraved lines, presumably a reminiscence of the coiled ends of the wire terminals on simpler and earlier varieties. A case in point is figured in the *Wroxeter Report*, 1912, pl. X, fig. 9, p. 29, the coils that form the actual knobs suggesting the writhen knobs frequently found in the Roman period (fig. 1).

A limiting date is given also in the other direction by the discovery of a penannular brooch in a Saxon grave on High Down, Sussex.¹ It is based on the Welsh type but has terminals approaching the grotesque animal-heads of Teutonic art, and not unlike those of a specimen in the collection of the Royal Irish Academy (*R. I. A. Christian Guide*, 22, fig. 26). The Saxon grave contained other relics, but nothing to give a more exact date than the sixth century; and the same may be said of the example from a Jutish grave at Bifrons near Canterbury, which is, however, true to type and was probably looted from a

¹ *Archaeologia*, lv, 210.

Romanized Briton, whereas the Sussex brooch looks like a Teutonic copy. The Saxons evidently found the model in use on their arrival in Britain; and as the type has not been found in association with Roman remains, even if on Roman sites, the safest course is to assign the Welsh penannular to the period between the end of the Roman occupation and the Teutonic invasions.

SIR ARTHUR EVANS, President, exhibited some remarkable specimens of ancient British art, which will be published in *Archaeologia*. One was a jet cameo found at Churchfield on the banks of the Medway, opposite Rochester Castle, in 1838. It had been described as Roman but presented a characteristically Celtic design in a typically British material. Roman cameos with Medusa's head were not uncommon and had an amuletic value. Ancient British cameos were hitherto unknown, and the present specimen afforded additional evidence of the growing classical influence in the period that preceded the Claudian conquest.

Another object was a fibula belonging to a very rare class, found at Beckley, Oxon., and now in the Ashmolean Museum. It showed a 'Late Celtic' development of an Italian Bronze Age form of which as yet the intermediate links were wanting. It was of elegant convoluted form with plate engraved with horse-shoe designs. The date of this brooch was ascertained by the occurrence of an analogous type at the 'Danes Graves' near Beverley, representing the first wave of Belgic invasion in this country, and belonging probably to the third century B.C.

GUY MAYNARD, Esq., on behalf of the Trustees of the Saffron Walden Museum, exhibited a Late-Celtic dagger in its sheath, discovered in Hartford Warren, near Bury St. Edmunds, in 1883. The dagger will be published in *Archaeologia*.

Thanks were ordered to be returned for these communications and exhibitions.

THURSDAY, 4th FEBRUARY, 1915.

SIR ARTHUR JOHN EVANS, Knt., D.Litt., F.R.S.,
President, in the Chair.

The following gifts were announced, and thanks for the same ordered to be returned to the donors:

From Ralph Griffin, Esq., F.S.A.:—The parish registers of Little Chart, Kent, 1538-1813. Transcribed by Rev. C. H. Wilkie. Privately printed. 8vo. Canterbury, 1914.

From the Author, J. W. Jackson, Esq. :—

1. Report on the exploration of a cave at Haverbrack, Westmorland. 8vo. Kendal, 1914.
2. On the discovery of a Bloomery at Lindale Church, near Grange-over-Sands. 8vo. Kendal, 1914.

Thomas Henry Harvey, Esq., was admitted a Fellow.

Sir MARTIN CONWAY, F.S.A., read a paper on the Abbey of St. Denis and its ancient Treasure, which will be printed in *Archaeologia*.

The purpose of the paper was to call attention to the fifteenth-century picture called the 'Mass of St. Giles', which depicted the High Altar of St. Denis with the golden frontal of Charles the Bald and the cross of St. Eloy. The picture also threw light on the arrangements of the interior of the church as ordered in the thirteenth century. The remainder of the paper dealt with various objects formerly in the Treasury at St. Denis but now scattered or known only from engravings and a few coloured drawings. These were considered in connexion with the inventories, especially the long manuscript inventory of 1634 in the Bibliothèque Nationale.

The PRESIDENT thanked the author for a very timely and extraordinarily rich contribution to knowledge of medieval art. So much was being lost and destroyed at the present time that it was well to have so ancient a treasure presented to the Society in such a graphic manner by one who had mastered the subject. Though discussion of the individual objects was out of the question, all would appreciate such a judicious treatment of the collection. Sassanian, Byzantine, and other influences had been detected, and the various styles carefully classified. The study of any great medieval treasure brought home to one the extent of Oriental influence, whether in the Sassanian or Greco-Scythian periods: there were splendid examples in the treasure of St. Maurice d'Againe. To any one accustomed to deal with objects carefully excavated from the soil, it was refreshing to come across objects in the great treasuries that had an unbroken tradition from classical times: many relics were preserved that were looted at the sack of Rome, and handed on from barbarian chiefs to kings and ecclesiastics through the intervening centuries: such, for instance, were the intaglio of Julia, the cameo of Augustus, and the chalice with Bacchic scenes, all of which had been represented on the screen.

Sir HERCULES READ remarked that to discuss the art treasures described in the paper would mean saying too much or too little;

but the meeting was indebted to the author for reconstructing a treasure of such interest and importance. Those who consulted the inventories of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries were apt to think they were living three or four centuries too late; only a slight conception was possible of medieval treasures from studying such documents. It was clear from the paper what terrible damage had been done to the fabric of St. Denis by that accomplished but misguided architect, Viollet le Duc; and he feared that a Ministry of Fine Arts, for which many were asking, would mean the appointment of one or two official architects, and the French experiment suggested caution. He could not agree that the paten of Suger was made at Byzantium, and thought that view was ruined by comparison with Nagy Szent Miklos, which was a treasure of barbarian origin. The border of the paten was essentially barbarian, and was almost certainly of different origin from the serpentine centre, which was decidedly Western in appearance. He was inclined to agree that the sword of Charlemagne was not of the twelfth century, but a Sassanian origin for the pommel was remote indeed. It was not necessary to go out of Europe, as parallels could be found of the ninth or tenth century. He was grateful for a conspectus of one of the most wonderful treasure-houses of medieval times.

Sir CHARLES HOLROYD had not seen the picture since 1892, but had had it in mind for a long time, and thought that such a gem of art should join its fellow in the National Gallery. It was a delightful example of Northern French art, as was clear from the architecture shown in the companion picture.

Mr. CLIFFORD SMITH referred especially to the crowns hung at the back of the retable. He knew of no other illustration of the custom of hanging up votive crowns in a church. The Guarrazar treasure was about equally divided between the Cluny Museum and the Armoury at Madrid, and the setting was the same as at St. Denis, where both crowns were held up by hand. The crown of Recesvinthus had a crystal knob, and one of the hands that held the crown in the picture was meant to be crystal. A few of the beads from the Guarrazar treasure were scattered, some of them being acquired by Sir Charles Robinson, at whose sale in 1879 some were procured for the Victoria and Albert Museum.

Sir MARTIN CONWAY replied that he did not mean the border of the dolphin dish was made at Byzantium, only that it came from the east of the Roman world, which did not exclude the region north of the Alps. He thought it had the same origin as the brooch, which Riegl considered eastern Roman work. Its

place of origin might be left for future consideration, but he felt that there were other specimens in the treasure that had the same origin.

Thanks were ordered to be returned for this communication.

THURSDAY, 11th FEBRUARY, 1915.

Sir ARTHUR JOHN EVANS, Knt., D.Litt., F.R.S.,
President, in the Chair.

The following gifts were announced, and thanks for the same ordered to be returned to the donors :

From Alfred Copeland, Esq.:—The story of Bethlehem Hospital from its foundation in 1247. By E. G. O'Donoghue. 8vo. London, 1914.

From Edmund Fraser, Esq.:—Orienting of churches, once the practice of Christendom. By Lieut.-General T. E. Webster. 8vo. London, 1904-6.

From the Author:—Register of the Members of St. Mary Magdalen College, Oxford. New Series, Vol. VIII. By Rev. W. D. Macray, F.S.A. 8vo. London, 1915.

FRANK LAMBERT, Esq., M.A., read a Report on Excavations on the site of the General Post Office and other recent Roman discoveries in London, which will be printed in *Archaeologia*.

The first section of the paper treated of unpublished drawings of the extensive Roman walls found on the site of Leadenhall Market in 1880-1, and rediscovered in part in 1905. It was suggested in 1881 that these belonged to the basilica of Londinium, but in spite of indications of an eastern apse, this was hardly possible.

The destruction of the old General Post-Office in 1913 disclosed a large series of Roman rubbish-pits. In 1914 the bottoms of these were excavated, at the instance of Mr. Philip Norman, with funds supplied by the Corporation and the Goldsmiths Company. The date of the pits was found to cover a period from A.D. 50 to A.D. 200, though the majority belonged to the first century. Four pits contained objects of both the first and fourth centuries. The more unusual finds included a gold ring, a Jewish coin of the second revolt (A.D. 132-5), and the débris of a house destroyed by fire, showing clear wattle-and-daub construction. By the association of undated with datable pottery,

much useful information was obtained about Roman coarse wares.

Portions of five large pits were found in the summer of 1914 on the site of 3-6 King William Street. These dated entirely from the first century, and produced some of the best early 'Samian' and coarse Roman pottery found in London.

The last section of the paper showed the gradual growth of Roman London by the areas of distribution covered by coins of Claudius and earlier; the earlier pottery of La Graufesenque; the later pottery of La Graufesenque; and the pottery of Lezoux.

The PRESIDENT said the Society was much indebted to Mr. Lambert for his successful investigations in London, and also to the officials of the Post Office and the Phoenix Company for their ready co-operation in research that had more than a local interest.

Mr. REGINALD SMITH said the statistical method had been used with excellent results in the present instance, and thought it no small achievement to spend three months searching rubbish-pits in circumstances that were not uniformly pleasant. Such devotion to modern methods of research had been well rewarded, and the accurate grouping and dating of plain pottery was a very tangible result: for instance, the jars with pointed base and horizontal ribbing had often been found in London, and a specimen had been brought to the British Museum that very afternoon, but no clue to their origin had hitherto been found. The mapping of coin-sites according to periods was a laborious but most useful piece of work, and seemed to favour the view that the Roman walls did not exist on their present line till the fourth century. As had been explained in the paper, coins were not in themselves good evidence, and one at least of the Claudius pieces found in the neighbourhood of St. Paul's had come from a burial. Instead of proving occupation of that quarter in the first century, it proved just the contrary, for Roman burials were outside the walls and apart from dwellings, and there was evidence that Paternoster Row had been a cemetery before it was inhabited.¹ It was evident that no Roman road passed over the Post Office site, but there was reason to think that the true Watling Street skirted it on the south, on the way from the Custom House to Newgate. In spite of adverse criticism, he liked to think that the massive walling found near the Leadenhall cross-roads marked the praetorium-site of an original legionary camp, which soon lost its military value and became the nucleus of Roman London.

¹ *V. C. H. London*, i, pp. 10, 22, 33.

It was a curious coincidence that distances from London were in many cases measured from the Cornhill standard, a medieval fountain standing at the Carfax and mentioned in two ordinances of Edward III.¹ That was no doubt regarded as a central point, and might well have been the centre of Londinium at the time of its foundation.

Mr. BUSHE-Fox referred to the alleged basilica-plan at Leadenhall Market, and thought that if the walls were all contemporary, they could not belong to such a building. If there were a nave with two aisles and an apse, there would be no reason for the cross wall, nor for the excessive thickness of the side wall. The building had perhaps been a bath: the wall which ended abruptly at the west end was possibly a flue for heating the apse, and the large drain would be accounted for. He thought the Post Office excavations showed a great advance in archaeology during the last twenty or thirty years. It would always have been easy to obtain funds for uncovering pavements or inscriptions, but it required special enthusiasm to pay for excavating rubbish-pits for pottery fragments. Mr. Lambert had added to the stock of knowledge not only with regard to Roman London but also the dating of coarse pottery, which occurred more frequently and in greater quantity than Samian ware, on which most reliance had hitherto been placed.

Mr. MILL STEPHENSON mentioned that similar wattle-and-daub had been found at Silchester, also wooden lining to pits, usually towards the bottom.

Mr. QUARRELL inquired about the levels of the Leadenhall walling, and the existence of any extension towards Whittington Avenue. There would soon, he understood, be opportunities for further research in that direction.

Mr. KEKEWICH, speaking for himself and the City Corporation, expressed great pleasure in having been of any assistance in the attempt to arrive at the situation and date of the first Roman settlement in London. He had been asked by the City to look after the work in King William Street, and had had the loyal co-operation of the Phoenix Company, whom he had approached with regard to the ultimate disposal of the finds. In his opinion they would be most fittingly exhibited in the Guildhall Museum. The great insurance companies and banks were fully alive to the results that might be achieved by the examination of building-sites in the City. He was grateful to the Society for taking the

¹ *Journal of Royal Society of Arts*, vol. lix (1910), 123.

matter up through Mr. Norman, and felt that a new human interest had been created in the beautifully decorated fragments that had come to light.

LORD DILLON represented the Phoenix Office in the absence of two officials who had unfortunately been prevented from attending the meeting; but he thought that the company's architect, Mr. Izant, who had been in charge, could give more information than himself.

MR. NORMAN was much obliged for the kind things said about him that evening, and attributed his success in raising funds for the work to his finding two old school-fellows in the Corporation Library Committee and the Goldsmiths Company. He thought an admirable beginning had been made after a considerable lull in exploration within the City walls. Roach Smith and Price had worked rather vaguely, and G. E. Fox had been disheartened in 1887. He had, some years ago with Mr. F. Reader, seen the Gardner Collection in which was the original of the plan exhibited; and after the sale Sir Edward Coates had proceeded to have an adequate catalogue made. He believed no one had ever made out the plan of a Roman building in London. Other massive walls, as, for instance, that in the basement of the Union Bank, had been found in the Leadenhall area, at a low level, hence it was inferred that the Roman settlement of that part of London was of very early date. It was remarkable that the earliest Roman pottery had been found at sites so far apart as the old General Post Office and King William Street, and yet was not spread evenly over London within the walls. Besides those mentioned, he would like to thank for their kind co-operation Mr. Bernard Kettle, chief librarian at the Guildhall; the G.P.O. officials, Messrs. Ivor Richards, Ferard, and Carey; and Mr. Wilson, of the Office of Works.

MR. LAMBERT replied that burials were admittedly one of the sources of error in utilizing coins as evidence of occupation; but there were early coins from the site of Christ's Hospital as well as from the Post Office site; and it was almost incredible that the Romans brought their rubbish to the latter spot up-hill from beyond the Walbrook. Mr. Bushe-Fox's suggestion with regard to the Leadenhall walls was an interesting one that would have further consideration. He was deeply grateful to the Goldsmiths Company for pecuniary assistance in carrying out the work; and with such a spirit prevailing in the City it was a pity that so very little of Roman London remained for exploration. It was good news that further finds might be made east of Leadenhall

Market, and he believed the East India House site would soon be available. As to the levels in the market, he had notes showing that the excavation went 16 ft. below the ground, the Roman level being at 15 ft. below the present surface. For some time he had been contemplating a catalogue of Roman objects from the City in private possession; and hoped that others would follow the example of the Phoenix Company and allow him to put on record finds that were now inaccessible to the public.

Sir ARTHUR EVANS, President, called attention to an interesting discovery of a group of coins of Valentinian the Elder and his colleagues, showing that the Roman mint at London, which had been closed since the time of Constantine, was restored by Valentinian in A.D. 368. A late silver coin of Valentinian was exhibited, showing in an abbreviated form the monetary stamp of Londinensis Augusta.

Thanks were ordered to be returned for this communication and exhibition.

THURSDAY, 18th FEBRUARY, 1915.

Sir ARTHUR JOHN EVANS, Knt., D.Litt., F.R.S., President, and afterwards Sir CHARLES HERCULES READ, Knt., LL.D., Vice-President, in the Chair.

William Austin, Esq., was admitted a Fellow.

Notice was given of a ballot for the election of Fellows to be held on Thursday, 4th March, 1915, and a list of the candidates to be put to the ballot was read.

A. W. CLAPHAM, Esq., F.S.A., read a paper on the topography of the Cistercian Abbey of Tower Hill, which will be printed in *Archaeologia*.

Tower Hill Abbey of St. Mary de Gratiis was the last of the Cistercian foundations in England and owed its origin to Edward III in 1350.

The site of this house, of which no remains were extant, was all that had hitherto been known of its topography. An early Stuart plan, however, preserved amongst the Domestic State Papers, enabled the main features of the monastic building to be

clearly identified, and some late fourteenth-century building accounts and the grant to Sir Arthur Darcy at the Dissolution added much additional information.

Both the east and west ends of the building stood on open courts of the present Royal Mint, which occupied the site, and there was some hope that future excavation might be productive.

Mr. NORMAN congratulated the author on the possession of two qualities specially valuable in work of that kind—a thorough appreciation of the architectural side, and skilful handling of the records.

Mr. J. G. Woon recalled the fact that the monastery was founded seventy years after its last predecessor, an interval during which certain variations in the rule had been introduced. Its foundation in the suburbs was a contravention of the Cistercian Constitutions, which ordained that the monastic house must be far from the haunts of men, whereas the abbey was on the outskirts of London. The plan too showed certain differences when compared with the normal Cistercian house, the sacristy for example being on the wrong side of the church: the rule was that the sacristy should be on the same side as the cloister. An important point was the position of the mill. Nothing had been said on that point, but there were two at that abbey, situated in East Smithfield, a large area between the site of the monastery and the Thames. He was not aware of any watercourse there which could have worked a mill. There had been similarly on the site of the Tower ditch a mill belonging to St. Katherine's Hospital, which, under an exchange, had been abolished in the time of Edward I. The motive power for the abbey mill probably was a mill-pond that formed the nucleus of St. Katherine's Dock, the latter first appearing about 1713; Stow's plan showed a pond in the same position but without any visible outlet to the Thames. The Cistercians worked the two mills by means of the tide through culverts to the pond, one being turned by the inward flow and the other by the ebb. The same arrangement could be traced in relation to the 'molendinum subtus castrum' at Chepstow. The extent of the abbey was indicated by the present dock, and the usual mill on a stream above the abbey was wanting in that instance, nor was it clear how the water was provided for sanitary purposes.

The PRESIDENT inquired as to the nature of a small isolated structure in the abbey grounds shown on the pictorial plan.

Mr. WEAVER thought it was a summer-house built of trellis.

Mr. BAILDON pointed out that 'pine-apple' in medieval times meant a pine-cone, and was used in heraldry. Was the north porch correctly so described? Kirkstall had a north door and traces of a north porch, but the cloister was on the south side.

Mr. CLAPHAM replied that strictly there was no north porch at Kirkstall, but merely an abutment of a gallery belonging to a building on the north. The door there had a projection, but no true porch. Though the Cistercian rules were altered in the present case, the use of iron candlesticks for the church was perpetuated.

Sir HERCULES READ, V.-P., exhibited an iron sword and scabbard from Switzerland, dating from the Early Iron Age, in the collection of Mr. Oscar Raphael, on which Mr. REGINALD SMITH read the following notes :

The well-known 'station' of La Tène, at the east end of the Lake of Neuchâtel, has yielded a large quantity of antiquities dating from the middle or second stage of that part of the Early Iron Age to which it has given a name. The limits of its three or four divisions are somewhat fluctuating, but Déchelette¹ in 1913 gave the following dates: La Tène I, 500-300 B.C.; La Tène II, 300-100 B.C.; La Tène III, 100 B.C. to the Christian era. On the same occasion he gave a useful summary of the characteristics which serve to distinguish swords of the La Tène civilization, which may here be repeated in English. Swords of the first stage are generally short and pointed, and the scabbard has a characteristic chape. Those of La Tène II are longer. The mouth of the scabbard has a pronounced curve like that of a bell or inverted calyx. At the bottom of the tang the blade has a kind of guard, curved to correspond with the mouth of the scabbard. The Gaulish sword becomes still longer in La Tène III period. The curved guard disappears, the mouth of the scabbard being generally straight. The scabbard has a rounded chape, and that end of the scabbard is strengthened by numerous transverse braces. The point of the sword is also rounded, the weapon now being for cutting, not for thrusting as in the period of La Tène I.

Sword scabbards of La Tène II sometimes have ornament engraved below the mouth or even over the entire front, but such decoration is rarer in the preceding stage.

The sword and scabbard exhibited are therefore characteristic of La Tène II, and probably date from about 100 B.C. They

¹ *La Collection Millon*, 167; *Manuel d'Archéologie*, vol. ii, part 3, p. 1120.

belong together, and were found about 1890 in the canton of Berne, Switzerland (fig. 1).

The entire length of the sword is 30.5 in., the blade measuring 24.5 in. and being about 1.4 in. broad for about half its length: it then tapers to a rounded point, and except for some surface pitting by rust is in perfect condition. The guard, grip, and pommel are missing, and the tang is slightly spread at the end where it held the pommel. The two edges are sharp and even, not having suffered from oxidation, the reason no doubt being that the edges are of a different quality of iron. This peculiarity has been noticed on swords of the period, and explained in the following way.

Keller quotes M. de Reffye with regard to sword-blades from Alesia (Côte-d'Or), and concludes that the same remarks apply to those from the Swiss lake-dwellings. 'The cutting-edges are not of the same iron as the body of the blade. The workman, after having forged the latter out of very tough, fibrous iron drawn out lengthwise, welded on each side little strips of soft iron to form the cutting-edges: this iron was afterwards beaten to an edge by the hammer. The soldier could thus after the fight repair with the hammer any damage done to his sword, just as a reaper sharpens his scythe when it is notched.'¹

On one face of the blade, 2 in. from the shoulder, is the maker's mark deeply impressed in the metal (fig. 1, b). The same stamp, evidently intended for a boar, is figured with a number of others from Switzerland by Vouga, *Les Helvètes à La Tène*, pl. II, fig. 10; and on p. 17 he states that swords bearing a maker's mark are generally better made and of finer tempered metal. He quotes, on p. 35, an expert's opinion that one at least of the swords he illustrates 'is made of *acier corroyé* (steel formed by hammering several strips together) which though not very hard is extremely tough, and gives a very sharp edge. As the lake-dwellers were not conversant with present methods of producing steel, the blade has split in several places, and is seen to consist of several layers one over the other.'

The scabbard, 26.3 in. long, is formed of two sheets of the thinnest iron, the front overlapping the back about $\frac{1}{8}$ in. The front has been given a shagreen² appearance by means of a stamp, and still has a cross-bar $6\frac{1}{2}$ in. from the point which forms part of the stouter binding in one piece with the chape (fig. 1, c). At the corresponding point on the back is one of two rings to give the binding a bearing on the flat; and at the

¹ See also Keller's *Lake-dwellings* (trans. J. E. Lee), 414; for the boar-mark, see pl. cxviii, fig. 14.

² Keller mentions this pattern (vol. i, p. 413), but says the method of producing it is uncertain.

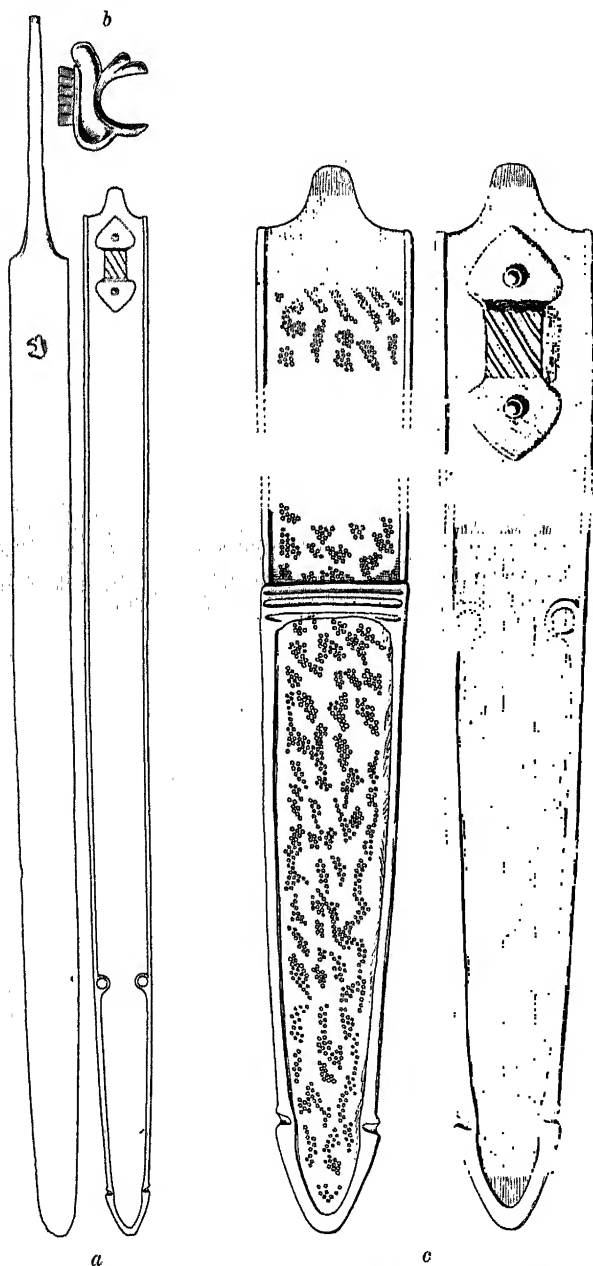


Fig. 1. *a*, LA TÈNE SWORD AND SCABBARD ($\frac{1}{3}$); *b*, MAKER'S MARK ($\frac{1}{2}$); AND *c*, DETAILS OF SCABBARD ($\frac{1}{2}$).

mouth end a loop, with transverse opening 0.7 in. wide, is fixed by two rivets, for suspending the weapon. The flat part of the loop is ornamented with diagonal grooves well preserved (fig. 1, c). The mouth is curved in the cocked-hat style, a corresponding curve having been given to the guard that is now lost. This feature is as characteristic of the period as the chape, which is little more than a thickening of the binding, but still clearly shows its derivation from the ring-chape of La Tène I. The present example marks the point at which the separate chape, which left two openings between itself and the point of the scabbard, merges into the binding strips that run all along both edges of the scabbard; and consequently dates from the end of La Tène II, just before the transition to La Tène III. The end of La Tène II, according to Déchelette, corresponds to 100 B.C., and there are earlier as well as later La Tène swords (or scabbards) in England. Thus in the *Early Iron Age Guide* (British Museum) that illustrated on pl. VI, fig. 3 is practically identical with the Swiss specimen exhibited; figs. 1 and 8 on the same plate are examples of the earliest stage of La Tène II; figs. 4, 5, and 6 mark the beginnings of the cross-bands of the scabbard characteristic of La Tène III, and fig. 7 is a typical example of the last stage of La Tène. It is hardly necessary to add that the close similarity of Early Iron Age swords in Britain and on the Continent suffices to show that the corresponding changes in fashion were approximately contemporary, and therefore the various stages in Britain are little if at all later than the same stages in Western Europe.

Mr. Oscar Raphael has since presented the sword and scabbard to the British Museum.

Sir HERCULES READ had found the sword in Mr. Raphael's possession along with certain other choice specimens, and was glad of the opportunity of showing it to the Society before bearing it off for the British Museum. Something might have been added as to the extraordinary skill required to produce so graceful a scabbard with the thinnest film of metal conceivable. It was difficult to imagine more perfect craftsmanship, and both the Society and the national collection were indebted to Mr. Raphael for his great kindness in the matter.

Colonel J. W. R. PARKER, C.B., F.S.A., exhibited a bucket with ornament of Late-Celtic style, on which Sir HERCULES READ, V.-P., read the following note:

The bucket shown by Colonel Parker puzzled me when I first saw it, and I must confess that it still remains somewhat of a problem. As a bucket it is quite commonplace, made of a

number of staves set together in the ordinary way, with the usual slot around the base inside where the bottom has been fitted. But on one side are two overlapping plates of very thin bronze or brass, with embossed designs clearly Late-Celtic in character, and a loop handle of an inadequate type is formed by a ribbed band of slightly thicker metal. Buckets of Late-Celtic period are well known. The Marlborough bucket at Devizes is probably the most notable: we have one from Aylesford, there was a very good though fragmentary one in Mr. Layton's collection at Kew, which I am sorry to say is not now to be found, and there are others. In all of them, however, the ornament conforms to the characters that we expect to find in Late-Celtic art. With the specimen before us this is not so. In the first place I question whether the bucket itself is entitled to the consideration that would be the right of an object approaching an age of two thousand years. It seems to me that its age should rather be counted by centuries. To deal with the bronze mounts. The handle is not only poor and unpractical, but entirely lacks style; it is, moreover, unlike any other handle I have seen on a Late-Celtic bucket. As to the embossed ornament, while it is clearly founded on a Late-Celtic model, it has none of the originality and charm of outline that constitute the great attraction of all work of this period. It has also another feature that is to me most suspicious. It will be observed that not only is the honeysuckle design immediately over the handle singularly wanting in force and beauty, but that it forms the middle of what is an entirely symmetrical design. I think that for these reasons we must assume that these bronze plates have been manufactured by some more or less clever forger, and affixed to an old bucket that happened to be at hand. That articles of this kind were in reality made is not mere conjecture. Good examples are to be seen in the collection of arms and armour formed by Mr. Robert Curzon, father of the late Lord Zouche, and they are still to be seen at Parham. These were made by one Grimshaw, something like sixty or seventy years ago, and Mr. Curzon got most of his arms and armour from Pratt, the dealer in Bond Street, to whom in the 'seventies the sale of the Meyrick Collection was entrusted. I found, on examining the surface of this bucket under the microscope, that the metal was covered with a fine thin varnish, an unnecessary addition from any honest point of view, but which, no doubt, was put on to give the surface a more ancient look.

Colonel PARKER also exhibited a medieval sword with inscription, on which Sir HERCULES READ made the following communication :

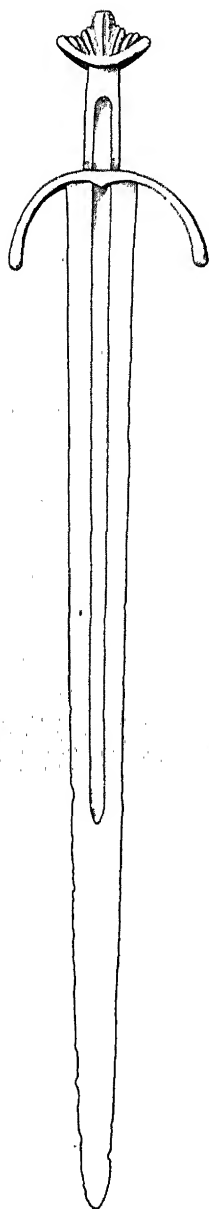


Fig. 1. MEDIEVAL
SWORD ($\frac{1}{8}$).

This sword (fig. 1) was found in the bed of the river Ouse, opposite to Cawood Castle, Yorkshire. It is $37\frac{1}{2}$ in. in total length, with a broad double-edged blade having a channel on either face, in which a band of letters is inlaid in white metal. The quillons are bent downwards and curved so as to form nearly a semicircle. The tang is broad and flat, the pommel is rounded beneath and pyramidal above, and of a type familiar on swords of the Viking period.

It was shown at the Exhibition at Ironmongers' Hall in 1861, and is figured in the catalogue on p. 151.

The interest of this specimen is considerable, not only as a fine example of a medieval sword, but on account of the problem it presents as to date. But for the form of the quillons and the two inscriptions on the blade, the weapon would probably have been set down as belonging to about the year 1000, and of Scandinavian origin. It is of course impossible that the inlaid letters can be of so early a time; they must belong to the thirteenth or fourteenth century. In the same way the quillons of Viking swords, though occasionally of a rounded or even semicircular form, are never of the large size seen in the present example, while the small point seen at the middle within the curve is again a feature never found on any northern sword of the ninth or tenth century, whereas it is common enough three centuries later. Interesting as these points are, it is in the pommel that the main problem centres, and if, as seems likely, we must set down this sword as having been made in the thirteenth century, approximately, it serves a useful purpose in demonstrating the development of the type of sword pommel commonly found at that date. There are in the British Museum two such pommels assigned to the thirteenth century, and most probably French. They come from the Lefebvre Collection at Mâcon. They are of the same general

design as this specimen, a fan-like arrangement of knobs, shortening on each side. In a sense they resemble the Viking type seen on Colonel Parker's sword, but there is one structural difference. On the latter it will be seen that the curved base of the pommel is a separate piece, welded on. Such an arrangement is, to my knowledge, never found on the typical twelfth- or thirteenth-century sword, where the pommel is always of a single piece. On the other hand, this curved base to the pommel is a characteristic feature of the Viking weapon. We have several examples in the Museum, from Durham, Norfolk, and from the Thames at Windsor.

As there can be no question as to the contemporary date of all the parts of the sword before us (for though it has been woefully scoured and filed, it bears no signs of any change of its parts), it would seem that we have here an example in which the actual type of Viking pommel has survived for two or three

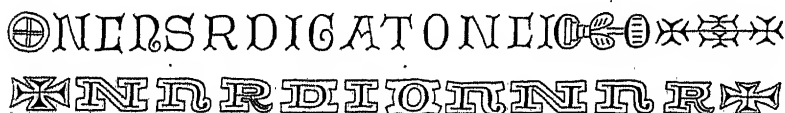


Fig. 2. INSCRIPTIONS ON MEDIEVAL SWORD.

centuries with no change, while the quillons have followed the fashion of the time when the sword was actually made. One would be tempted to place the date earlier than the thirteenth century, as so late a survival of the type would put a strain on the imagination; but here the character of the inscriptions (fig. 2) stands in the way. One of the inscriptions, that in ordinary capitals with a slight Lombardic flavour, is very elegantly designed; the other in exaggerated block-like capitals does not seem to me to be so easily datable. In both occur two types of the letter N—the modern form and the humpbacked N. The inscription is to me illegible, and probably served as a charm to its illiterate owner. The swordsmith was doubtless equally illiterate, and miscopied some phrase with more attention to the general effect than to its meaning.

Mr. CRACE asked whether such a small grip was usual. Though common in oriental weapons, it could hardly be associated with the Vikings.

Sir HERCULES READ replied that the grip of Viking swords was not particularly small, and he saw no reason why the present specimen should have a shorter grip than later swords: it would not have accommodated more than four fingers. The



inscriptions on the two faces of the blade were meant to be the same. He remembered a sword of the thirteenth century in Zürich Museum with a row of animals along the channel and an ornament resembling that at the end of the inscription exhibited. Thanks were due to Colonel Parker for allowing the two specimens to be exhibited and described.

E. A. WEBB, Esq., F.S.A., exhibited a fragment of an enamelled sixteenth-century terra-cotta tile on which he read the following note:

The tile was found on the business premises of Messrs. Evans Sons Lescher & Webb, Ltd., which occupy the site of the ancient monastic infirmary of St. Bartholomew's, Smithfield.

Our Fellow Mr. Clifford Smith tells me that this tile with others probably formed a panel with a relief representing a circular wreath supported by amorini. Only one arm, a wing, and part of the wreath remain. The wreath and wing are coloured blue; the remainder of the enamel is white.

Mr. Smith considers that it is North Italian work between the years 1510 and 1520, that it was probably for wall decoration, and, like the reliefs at Hampton Court, was possibly made in England by Italian workmen. But as one cannot point to any other example of enamelled Italian terra-cotta of that time which was made in this country, this relief may have been imported.

This opinion as to the date of the fragment and its possible importation is remarkably confirmed by my own researches into that period at St. Bartholomew's. William Bolton was prior of St. Bartholomew's from 1505 to 1532. He was a great architect, and, as I have shown elsewhere, he was in charge of the work at Henry the Seventh's Chapel in 1509. In 1511 he was engaged on the tomb of the Lady Margaret in that chapel and it was he who sent for the Italians to carry out the work. Between 1513 and 1517 he did a great deal of work on the monastic buildings at St. Bartholomew's, including, we believe, the infirmary in which this fragment was found. From 1517 to 1519 Bolton was engaged by the king in the building of New Hall in Essex.

These dates coincide precisely with those mentioned by Mr. Clifford Smith. Bolton was engaged in building a palace for the king. No other similar fragments of such tiles have been found, as they probably would have been had they been used as a wall decoration at St. Bartholomew's; but as Bolton was in close touch with Italy, it is a reasonable assumption that this fragment is part of a pattern tile sent to him from Italy, for the work at New Hall for the king. Such specimens we all see in architects' offices to-day.

Mr. CLIFFORD SMITH had been able to supply some information in conjunction with his colleagues, and had got permission from Mr. Kettle for a tile in the Guildhall museum to be exhibited. This tile, like the fragment shown by Mr. Webb, was from the City, and was another of the few examples of enamelled pottery (i. e. true majolica) of that date found in this country. It was found in 1873 in Coleman Street, and exhibited by Mr. Syer Cuming to the British Archaeological Association in 1874 (*Journal*, xxx, 84), when the figure was identified as Prince Arthur of Wales, who died in 1502. The costume, however, looked about twenty years later, and the tile was probably also of foreign origin. In the coloured illustration there should have been blue on the sleeves, and flecks of blue on the background. There was a reference to enamelled tiles in the accounts of Little Saxham Hall, Suffolk, for the year 1528, but it was probable that the tiles mentioned were merely glazed. The use of true enamelled (stanniferous) pottery in this country was not recognized by Professor Church until the appearance of delft about 1620. With regard to the fragment from St. Bartholomew's, it was to be noticed that angels in the attitude of heraldic supporters, in imitation of the putti of Italian craftsmen, were of fairly frequent occurrence in early Renaissance sculpture and woodwork in the eastern and southern counties; but at New Hall, to which Mr. Webb had referred, the two coats of arms, one removed from the gateway and the other on the middle of the front, were supported not by amorini but by heraldic beasts.

Mr. WEAVER remarked that the New Hall coats of arms were delightful Tudor work without any trace of Renaissance detail.

Mr. NORMAN referred to the late Mr. Higgins's treatise on terra-cotta workers in Tudor times, and asked if such work was given up after that date.

Sir HERCULES READ wished he could think the tile had been made in England as part of a series, but the style of modelling and the quality of the enamels showed it was Italian. The curious blue tint recalled Della Robbia productions, and there were two vases of the same starchy tint in the British Museum. The Guildhall figure-tile might be by the same hand as one brought from Italy and illustrated by Mr. Wallis, the technique being the same and unmistakably Italian. If any proof were wanted of the constant importation at that time of tiles and bricks, he might cite the Mayor's Chapel at Bristol, where the whole floor was covered with tiles clearly of Spanish origin, which opinion was confirmed by Señor de Osma. They were of ordinary type,

and resembled sixteenth-century specimens at Granada and Seville.

Mr. WEBB also exhibited a small fragment of a fourteenth-century canopy recently found near the Lady Chapel of St. Bartholomew's, Smithfield. The fragment was exhibited to show the class of work used at that time. The foliage in particular was of very delicate work, and the fragment was also interesting because of the very considerable remains of colour still adhering to it.

Thanks were ordered to be returned for these communications and exhibitions.

THURSDAY, 25th FEBRUARY, 1915.

Sir ARTHUR JOHN EVANS, Knt., D.Litt., F.R.S.,
President, in the Chair.

The following gifts were announced and thanks for the same ordered to be returned to the donors :

From the Editor, J. W. Clay, Esq., F.S.A.:—Dugdale's Visitation of Yorkshire, with additions. Part xi. 8vo. Exeter, 1914.

From the Author:—Some medieval house-burnings by the Vikings of Orkney. By Alfred W. Johnston. 8vo. Glasgow, 1915.

Notice was again given of a ballot for the election of Fellows to be held on Thursday, 4th March, 1915, and the list of candidates to be put to the ballot was again read.

In pursuance of the Statutes, Chapter XII, paragraph ii, notice was given that at the Ordinary Meeting on Thursday, 4th March, the Treasurer would move that the sum of £102 4s. be expended on rewiring that portion of the Society's apartments formerly occupied by the Assistant Secretary.

E. THURLOW LEEDS, Esq., M.A., F.S.A., read the following paper on Further Excavations in Round Barrows near Eyebury, Peterborough :

Following up the exploration of the largest of the three tumuli near Eyebury, Peterborough, of which an account was given to the Society at the meeting held on February 1, 1912,¹ I have in the last two years taken such opportunities as presented

¹ *Proceedings*, xxiv, 80.

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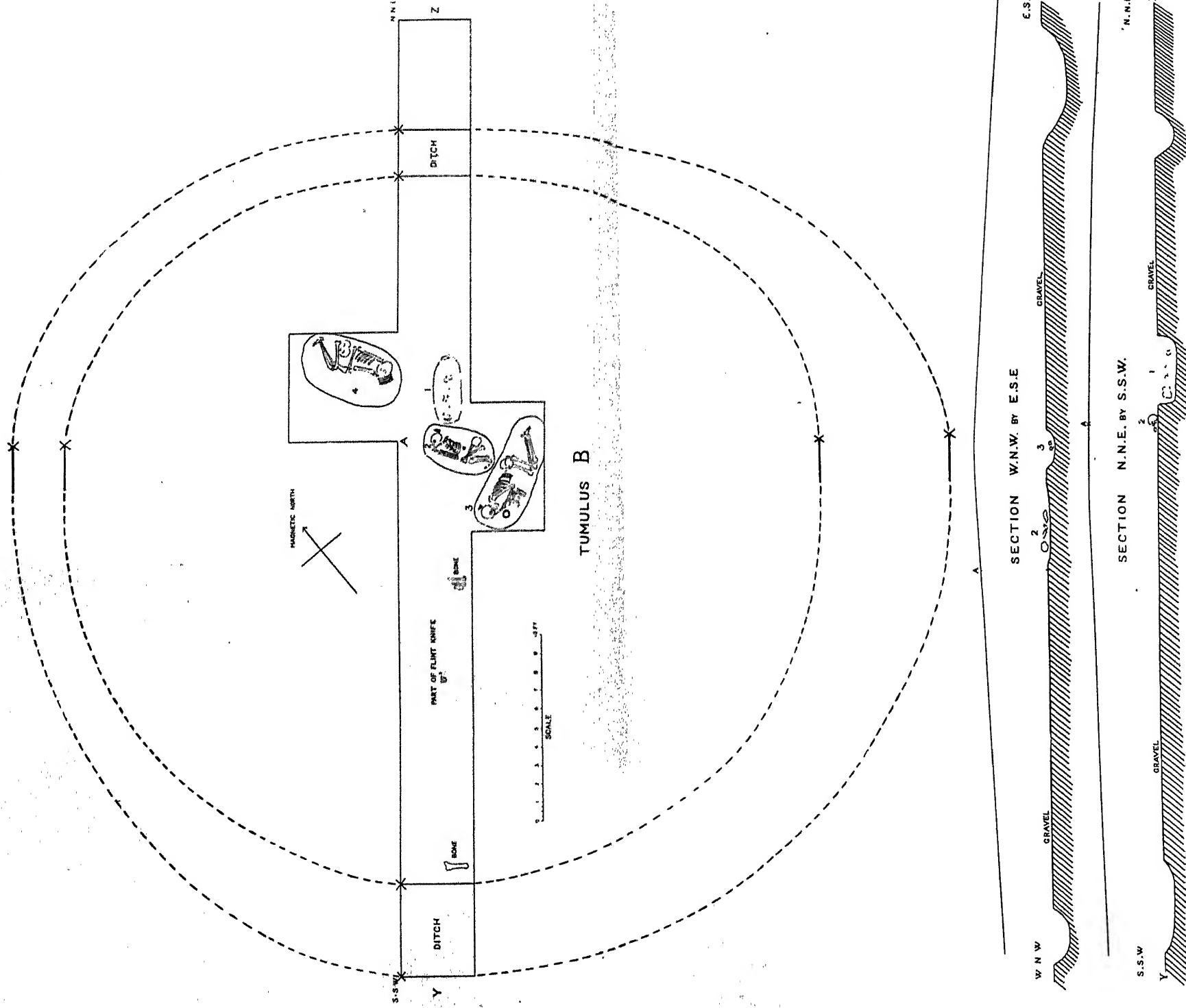


Fig. 1. PLAN AND SECTIONS OF TUMULUS B, EYEBURY, AVEBURY, WILTSHIRE, NEAR PETERBOROUGH
(The unexcavated part of the ditch is represented by dotted lines)

themselves to examine the other two smaller tumuli lying to the southward.¹ Of these two tumuli, the one lies only some 30 ft. from the large tumulus previously explored, while the other lies about 200 yds. away in the adjoining field which belongs to the neighbouring farm of Tanholt. Hereafter, for the sake of brevity, I shall refer to them as Tumulus A, B, and C respectively in order from north to south. Tumulus C I was enabled to explore in the autumn of 1913 by the courteous permission of Mr. Henry Knipe, the former owner of the farm, and of Mr. Robert Green, the then tenant, to both of whom my best thanks are due. It was not until Christmas 1913 that an opportunity occurred for examining Tumulus B. I propose, however, to describe them in the order of their position.

Tumulus B. This tumulus is at present some 80 to 90 ft. in diameter, and at no point reaches a greater height than $3\frac{1}{2}$ ft. above the surface of the gravel, as compared with the 120 ft. diameter and 5 ft. depth of Tumulus A (Y-Z, plan, fig. 1). Like Tumulus A, this tumulus has evidently undergone a process of diminution in height during a long period of tillage.

The work of exploration was begun by driving a trench, 4 ft. wide and 52 ft. long, from north-north-east to south-south-west through the mound along a line at right angles to the base line used for Tumulus A. At the northern end the gravel was reached at 3 ft. 2 in. At a distance of $6\frac{1}{2}$ ft. the edge of a ditch appeared; this proved to be $2\frac{1}{2}$ ft. wide and $4\frac{1}{2}$ ft. deep from the surface, the gravel occurring at 3 ft. 4 in. on the outer edge and at $3\frac{1}{2}$ ft. on the inner. Eventually, at 46 ft., another ditch was discovered; this was 6 ft. wide and 4 ft. in depth from the surface, the gravel being 3 ft. 3 in. down on both sides. In order to prove whether these two ditches formed part of a trench running round the barrow, trial holes were dug along a line at right angles to the axis of the trench and at its middle point. In them the ditch was found again to the north-west and south-east at $18\frac{1}{2}$ ft. and 23 ft. respectively from the point A (see plan, fig. 1). On the north-western side it was 3 ft. wide and $3\frac{1}{2}$ ft. deep, with the gravel at 2 ft. 10 in. and 2 ft. 7 in. at the inner and outer edges; while on the south-eastern side it proved to be 7 ft. wide and 4 ft. deep, with the gravel at 3 ft. and $2\frac{1}{2}$ ft. on the inner and outer edges. The ditch was, for practical purposes, circular, the distances from the centres of the ditch at both ends of the two axes being 40 ft. and 45 ft. Since this ditch evidently served to delimit the area of the tumulus, the original diameter of the latter was approximately 40 ft.

The discovery of the interments (for eventually there proved to be four) was no such laborious task as we had encountered in

¹ See plan, *op. cit.*, p. 81.

Tumulus A. At a distance of 22 ft. from the north-east end of the trench a skull came to light at a depth of $3\frac{1}{2}$ ft., thus lying on the surface of the gravel. It proved to be that of a skeleton (no. 2 on plan, fig. 1) lying on its right side, oriented north-west by south-east, the head to the north-west facing south-west. The body lay in a crouching position with the legs loosely flexed, the hands to the face, and the head thrown back. It was that of a young individual of about fourteen years of age. With it were found a fragment of flint lying behind the head and



Fig. 2. FLINT IMPLEMENTS AND FLAKES FROM TUMULI B AND C, EYBURY ($\frac{1}{2}$).
(a-d from Tumulus C; e-i from Tumulus B)

another trapezoidal flake between the pelvis and ribs (fig. 2, h and i). In clearing this skeleton, at the back of the head traces of a child's bones were discovered in the gravel itself at a depth of 4 ft. (no. 1 on plan). To judge from the position of the remains, it lay almost along the axis of the trench; if anything the grave was oriented to a point south of south-south-west, the head being at the south-west end. Only a slender flint flake was found with this burial (fig. 2, f).

During the process of digging out a section in the eastern face of the trench to clear skeleton no. 2, and just outside the limit of the grave on that side, signs of a third skeleton appeared. This proved to be that of an adult male lying in a grave about 7 ft. long and $4\frac{1}{2}$ deep, oriented from a point east of south-east

to a point west of south-west. The body lay on its right side facing south-eastwards with the head at the south-west end of the grave. The knees were slightly drawn up towards the body; the left hand covered the face, while the right arm was bent under the body, so that the hand appeared just below the chest. Behind the head lay a well-made dart-point, $1\frac{1}{2}$ in. long, of black flint, triangular in form, with portions of the original bark remaining on one face (fig. 2, *g*). It had evidently been made for funeral purposes like the scrapers found in Tumulus A, all

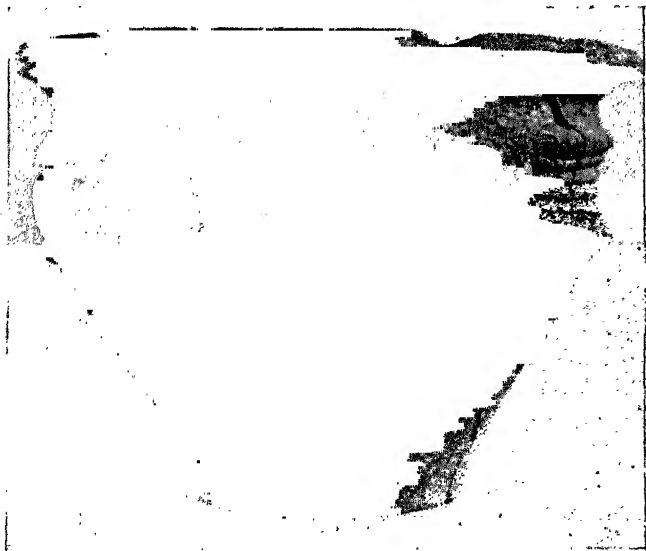


Fig. 3. FOOD-VESSEL FROM TUMULUS B, EYEBURY (ABOUT $\frac{1}{2}$).

signs of wear being absent. In front of the face had been placed a food-vessel (fig. 3). It measures $5\frac{3}{8}$ in. in height and $6\frac{3}{8}$ in diameter across the mouth and $3\frac{1}{4}$ across the base. A flat rim bevelled inwards is decorated on top with incised herring-bone pattern bounded by lines and on the outer edge with horizontal lines; below the rim is a deep groove ornamented with a line of vertical incisions. Below this is a second groove bounded above and below by prominent ridges with vertical incisions, the groove itself being divided in four sections, decorated with horizontal lines, by four vertically ribbed lugs with horizontal perforations. The paste of the vase is black inside, fired to a brick-red colour on the surface. Nothing was found in it.

In front of the middle of the body lay a heap of bones of two

kinds, (i) a few bones, ribs, etc., of pig, and (ii) burnt bones, twisted and distorted by fire. These burnt bones comprised parts of the skull of a child of twelve years of age or more, and also a few fragments of other parts of the skeleton, principally limb-bones. The bones have not been calcined, but have clearly been subjected to a fierce heat for a sufficiently long time to twist and split them. No charcoal or other signs of combustible material accompanied them. In the centre of this heap lay the finger-bones of the right hand of the principal interment.

The right side of the adult skull and the surface of other bones appear to have been slightly charred by fire, but only near the top of the head were some scanty traces of charcoal found. The body lay on the white sand described in the account of Tumulus A, the bottom of the grave being $4\frac{1}{2}$ ft. from the surface, while the gravel dipped from $3\frac{1}{2}$ ft. at the south-western to 4 ft. at the north-eastern end. This burial, if priority can be claimed for any, was, owing to its central position in the mound, the primary interment.

In clearing out the soil round the remains of burial 1, we came upon the top of a fourth skull on the western side of the trench. A section was excavated to lay this skeleton bare, and in it was found a grave measuring 4 by 3 ft., in which the body lay in a tightly contracted position, covering a length of 3 ft. 4 in. The grave, oriented from south-east to north-west with the head at the south-eastern end, was $4\frac{3}{4}$ to 5 ft. deep with the gravel at $3\frac{1}{2}$ ft. The floor of the grave was covered with white sand, and on this the body lay on its left side facing south-west, with the hands to the face. In front of the face three ribs of an ox had been placed, manifestly as food for the deceased person. No other relic of any kind was to be found. The skeleton was that of an adult female. Part of the occipital region and the left side of the skull, i. e. that which lay undermost, were charred by fire, but otherwise no trace of burning of any description occurred in this grave.

Further excavations were carried out in September 1914, in the area surrounding these burials and not previously explored, but without any result, so that to judge from the by no means inconsiderable area explored in Tumulus A before the burial was discovered, it may fairly be concluded that the skeletons found represent the total number of burials in Tumulus B.

In the south-western half of the main trench odd bones of animals were found on the gravel in two places, and in filling in a fragment of a round-buttred flint knife (fig. 2, *e*) was detected; this latter seems to have come from about the same depth.

Although burial 3 might on some grounds be regarded as the primary interment, nevertheless the differences of sex and

age in the skeletal remains might seem to point to closely contemporary burials of the members of one family.

Tumulus C. When I first began operations in this group of barrows, I was for some time rather doubtful whether this third

TUMULUS C

SECTION & PLAN
OF
CREMATION HOLE

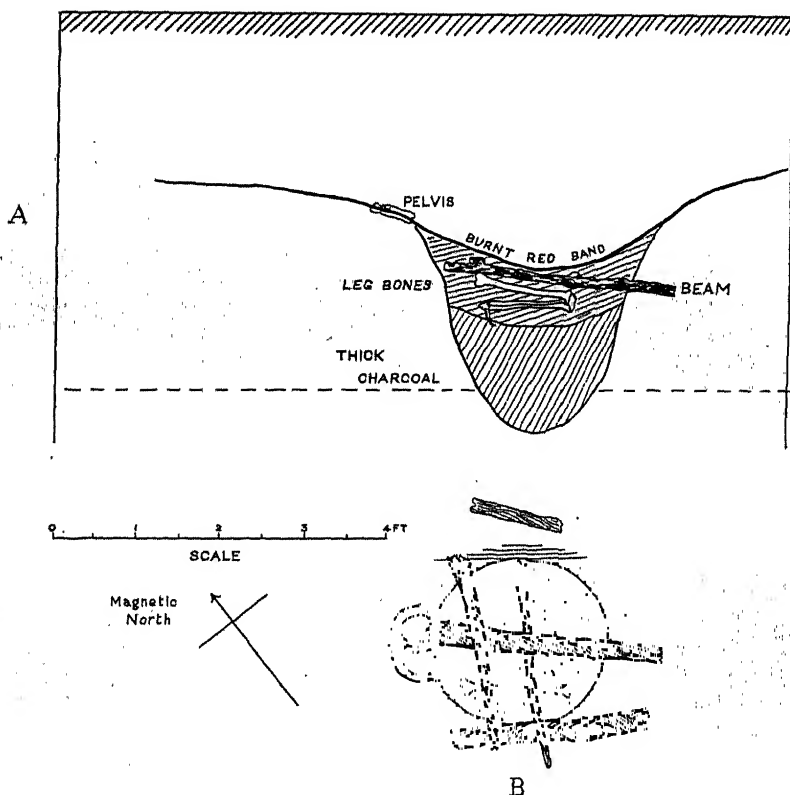


Fig. 4. SECTION AND PLAN OF CREMATION HOLE, TUMULUS C, TANHOLT, EYE.

tumulus was a tumulus at all, so much had it been diminished in height by tillage. However, the light colour of the soil as compared with that of the surrounding land led me to suspect that excavation would not be without results, and this suspicion was strengthened by the discovery on the surface of the mound of

a good scraper and a core of a grey flint (fig. 2, *a* and *d*). This tumulus lies about 200 yds. from Tumulus B in a southerly direction, and is at present from 80 to 90 ft. in diameter.

In this instance a trench about 20 ft. long was opened along a line parallel to the original base-line, from north-west to south-east. Towards the western end traces of charcoal were found at varying depths, often in small pockets as in Tumulus A; the gravel was reached at from $3\frac{1}{2}$ to 4 ft.

On the north-eastern face of the trench at 14 ft. from the western end and at a depth of 2 ft. a fairly thick burnt-red layer appeared, extending 6 ft. in an easterly direction, with a depression 3 ft. wide at the centre. In an enlargement 5 ft. wide in the north-eastern face this layer was found to extend to $7\frac{1}{2}$ ft. Three feet from the western end of the cutting and $2\frac{1}{2}$ ft. from the surface, there lay in a depression 1 ft. wide cut into the soil a pelvis half-covered by the burnt layer. In front of it was a circular hole about 3 ft. in diameter at the top and $1\frac{1}{2}$ ft. at the bottom, and 3 ft. deep (fig. 4, A). As this hole was gradually exposed from the side, the bones of the right leg of a skeleton appeared with the tibia and fibula doubled underneath the femur, the knee pointing south-east, showing the body to have been placed in a squatting position. Since excavation behind the pelvis failed to produce any part of the upper skeleton, it was clear that, if anywhere, the rest of the bones must be in the hole. Digging downwards into the hole, we found traces of several charred beams (fig. 4, B), one $4\frac{1}{2}$ in. in diameter and $2\frac{1}{2}$ ft. long, others somewhat smaller. Two large beams could be detected lying roughly east and west (with a smaller piece beyond), and crossed at right angles by two thinner pieces at least. Below these were the leg-bones already mentioned amid charcoal, earth, and pieces of bone. At a depth of 3 ft. where the hole had diminished in diameter to 2 ft. 3 in. began a dense sticky layer of charcoal, like the red layer, hollowed in the middle. This filled the remainder of the hole. It was carefully sieved as removed, and was found to contain fragments of burnt bone. To show how thorough this cremation (for such it was) had been, the entire quantity of bones taken out of the hole comprised two large handfuls. Only minute fragments of the skull were detected, and not a sign of vertebrae nor a single tooth was found. In approaching this hole from the trench a rude flint knife was found: another flake had been found somewhat earlier (fig. 2, *b* and *c*). From the contents of the hole itself was recovered a minute flint flake of razor-like sharpness.

In order to uncover this interesting discovery more easily, examination was deferred for a time, whilst a large opening was

made all round it, but except for traces of charcoal the excavated portion produced nothing.

It seems clear that the process of cremation had been effected by constructing a wigwam of timber, probably not unlike a charcoal-burner's pile, covered by earth or turfs, over the body, which was placed in a squatting position on a heap of wood or brushwood, a flue being left at one side to carry the draught. This construction had eventually collapsed, carrying down with it the major part of the remains on to the fire-heap below, which completed the work of destruction.

It can hardly be denied that this group of tumuli, though by no means rich in relics, has yet produced an interesting series of interments. Scanty however as the relics are, they, in conjunction with the evidence of the burial rites, seem to confirm the suggestion of an early Bronze Age date put forward in the case of Tumulus A.

In the first place there is the evidence of the food-vessel from Tumulus B. It belongs to a type well known in Yorkshire but extremely scarce elsewhere. At the time I had reason to believe that this was the most southerly example as yet known. Three days later, however, it was my fortune to see a second example from Northamptonshire in a private collection near Nottingham. It was found in ironstone workings at Desborough, Northants, and is now in the possession of Mr. Walter Fowler of Beeston, to whom I am greatly indebted for an excellent photograph of it, as also for kind permission to publish it (fig. 5). It measures $4\frac{3}{8}$ in. in height and $6\frac{3}{8}$ in. in diameter. As will be seen, it is more richly decorated than the Eyebury example, and the lugs are not pierced; otherwise, in form and general appearance they closely resemble one another. In point of southerly provenance the Eyebury specimen must yield pride of place.

They both belong to Mr. Abercromby's type 1 *a*,¹ which, with the exception of one example without provenance in the Farnham Museum conjectured to have been obtained by General Pitt-Rivers from Yorkshire, is unknown to Mr. Abercromby in his Region I, the district comprising all counties south of Derbyshire and Staffordshire. The nearest parallels to the Eyebury vase would seem to be one from Gilling, North Riding,² and another from Blanch Huggate, East Riding.³ Mr. Abercromby advances evidence to show that the type in question is, roughly speaking, contemporaneous with his types 2, 3, 4, and 5, but while there is reason to believe that type 1 *a* persisted for some time and until

¹ The Hon. John Abercromby, *A Study of the Bronze Age Pottery of Great Britain and Ireland*, i, 93-4.

² *Op. cit.*, pl. xxxviii, fig. 166.

³ *Op. cit.*, pl. xxxvi, fig. 138.

bronze was in full use, there is nothing to prevent its being early, and indeed such associations as Mr. Abercromby records seem to bear this out.

Further evidence has been adduced by Mr. Reginald Smith, who has clearly shown that the food-vessel represents a survival of a round-bottomed bowl in vogue in the Neolithic Age.¹

Secondly, there is the witness of the different funeral rites observed in the three tumuli. Admittedly there is no absolute proof that the cremation in Tumulus C is in any way contempora-

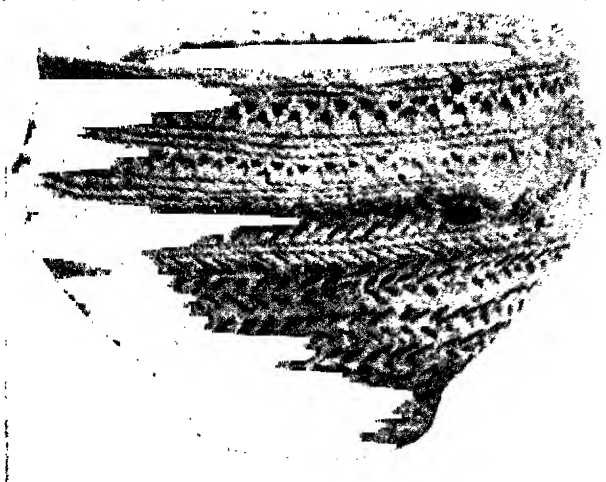


Fig. 5. FOOD-VESSEL FROM DEIMBOROUGH, NORTHANTS (ABOUT $\frac{1}{2}$).

neous with the burials in Tumuli A and B. Throughout Europe as a whole cremation is associated with the latter half of the Bronze Age, with the notable exceptions of France and Britain, where indeed incontestable evidence of the earlier practice of that rite in the Neolithic period is forthcoming, more particularly in the long barrows of Yorkshire.² Thus the occurrence of cremation in association with early Bronze Age types of objects in the Derbyshire barrows and the chambered cairns of Bute may be fairly regarded as a survival of the rite among the Neolithic elements in the population.

One of the phenomena in connexion with the practice of cremation observed by Canon Greenwell in the Yorkshire long barrows was the imperfect burning of many of the bones, as was the case

¹ *Archaeologia*, lxii, 340.

² Greenwell and Rolleston, *British Barrows*, pp. 493 ff.

with the child's bones which accompanied burial 3 in Tumulus B. Similarly the methodical cremation *in situ* carried out in Tumulus C is analogous to the system adopted in the same series of long barrows.¹

In Yorkshire also the occurrence of the two rites of cremation and inhumation in round barrows in the same grave or in close proximity is by no means uncommon, and several instances of this mixture certainly belong to an early period of the Bronze Age. The case of barrow no. 294 at Life Hill, East Riding, may be cited.² There, in a grave 4 ft. deep, was found the skeleton of an old man, accompanied by a bronze riveted dagger and a flint knife; about 6 in. higher up were the cremated bones of an adult with a flint knife, a bronze awl, and a food-vessel. Both the bronze implements are well known from early interments, and the food-vessel is of a simple form. This example serves to corroborate an early date for the interments in barrow 280 at Marton Hall, East Riding,³ where just above a burial unaccompanied by any relics in a grave 4 ft. deep were found three food-vessels, two of the Eyebury type and one of simpler form, together with a flint knife and a bone pin, the last of which was associated with the burnt bones of a child, while near one of the other two lay fragments of an interred skeleton, also of a child.

Even therefore in the funeral rites there would appear to be a close connexion with some early Yorkshire burials.

The skeletal remains have been submitted to Professor Arthur Thomson and Mr. L. H. Dudley Buxton of the Department of Human Anatomy at Oxford. To them I am greatly indebted for a diagnosis of the age and sex of the different skeletons. Owing, however, to the imperfect preservation of the skulls, which rendered quite impossible restoration to any such extent as that attained in the case of the skull from Tumulus A, it has been impossible to arrive at any measurements of the cephalic index, and on this point no report has been offered.

The general appearance of the skulls seems rather to indicate mesaticephaly, and there also appears to be an absence of the prominent and beetling superciliary ridges which characterize the skull of the brachycephalic element in the Bronze Age population of Britain.

The PRESIDENT congratulated the author on finding confirma-

¹ Greenwell and Rolleston, *British Barrows*, pp. 495 ff. Thurnam also notices defective cremation in three Wiltshire long barrows, and adds a comment of Canon Greenwell's on his researches to the effect that 'cremation was the rule of long barrows, but cremation after a singular and imperfect fashion'. *Archaeologia*, xlii, 191-3.

² Mortimer, *Forty Years' Researches*, p. 203 f.

³ *Op. cit.*, p. 344.

tion of his former conclusions by further excavation of an early Bronze Age site. At that time more civilized forms were produced in Scotland and Ireland than in the south. In view of the present and other cases there seemed no reason to doubt that cremation began in the late Neolithic period. It was sometimes practised for purely psychological reasons; and one of the old English chronicles mentioned that an outbreak of vampirism in the north of England led to burning of the dead. In the last century there was a similar outbreak in Serbia that had the same result.

Mr. GARRAWAY RICE asked whether a scraper made from an outside flake was necessarily for funeral purposes. His own experience was that 75 per cent. of the scrapers retained a patch of crust, whether connected with a burial or found on the surface.

Mr. REGINALD SMITH remarked that the section showed an unusual thickness of earth above the original encircling ditch; and suggested that the centre had been very much higher at one time or that the mound had been enlarged after one or more of the secondary burials. Though there was some doubt as to priority, cases were known of a large round barrow being raised over the body of a child. Food-vessels were more frequently found with remains of skeletons than with cremations, the latter series being in his opinion after the middle of the Bronze Age; and the Desborough example especially resembled the Neolithic bowl as found in England, and had decoration in the hollow moulding that had a very Irish appearance.¹ Cremation and bronze-working were evidently not introduced by the same people, as small metal objects were often found in unburnt burials with beakers; and there was still some doubt in his mind as to Neolithic cremation in England. The Peterborough burials seemed to belong to the second quarter of the Bronze Age, not to its earliest stage. It would be interesting to know whether the burnt bones found near the southern skeleton were buried at the same time or were inserted at a later date when the funeral rite had changed. The conical flint found at the top of the mound was probably much older than the burials, and had been thrown up with the soil: it resembled a type from certain French caves.

Mr. LEEDS replied that the scrapers and other flints of definite type found in these barrows were devoid of any signs of wear

¹ Cf. *Archaeologia*, lxii, pl. xxxix, figs. 1 and 4.

and, he thought, were made specially for the interment. On the other hand, several scrapers of the same flint, with their edges damaged by use, had been picked up on the surface of the surrounding land, and the conical flint from the top of Tumulus C was in the same condition. In the present case the colour of the material decided the date. The two daggers from Herdsman's Hill tumulus¹ were of light-coloured flint, exactly the colour of the scraper on Tumulus C, whereas the scrapers in Tumulus A and the arrow in B were of rich black flint. The barrow in its present condition was $3\frac{1}{2}$ ft. high; and having been under cultivation for a great number of years, had spread considerably. He could not believe there had been more than one series of interments; and believing that the food-vessel was derived from the Neolithic bowl, he could not see why the former should be referred to the second quarter of the Bronze Age. The curious method of burning in Neolithic barrows described by Canon Greenwell did not seem to be later than the barrows themselves. The Irish features of the Desborough food-vessel were interesting in view of Mr. Crawford's contention² that there was a trade-route from Ireland through Chester and across England to the Wash, as shown by the discovery of flat bronze celts along that line.

H. R. HALL, Esq., M.A., F.S.A., communicated on behalf of Mr. M. Burchardt and himself the following note on a Philistine sword of Shardana type found in Palestine:

The British Museum acquired in the year 1910 the very fine bronze sword of which I have the pleasure of showing an illustration (fig. 1). It is preserved in the Bronze Age collections of the British and Medieval Department. The place of its discovery is Bêt Dâgin in Palestine, very near to Gaza.

Though nothing is known of the circumstances of the discovery, or of what other objects, if any, were found with it, a glance



Fig. 1. BRONZE SHARDANA SWORD FROM PHILISTIA: BRITISH MUSEUM (ABOUT $\frac{1}{2}$).

¹ *Proceedings*, xxiv, 83, fig. 2.

² *Geographical Journal*, 1912, 196.

at the Egyptian representations of the fights of Rameses III against the Philistines and the peoples of the sea shows us that we have here a weapon of these sea-folk, and, to judge from the place of discovery, in all probability an actual Philistine sword.

This identification occurred to us both independently, and on comparing notes we were glad to find ourselves in full agreement on the subject. There is no doubt whatever as to the style, date, and origin of the weapon, and there is every probability that it is Philistine, a weapon of the doughty compatriots of Goliath of Gath. Its date is, roughly, 1200-1150 B. C. This date is fixed by the known date of Rameses III, in whose reign the Philistines, in or about the year 1196, attacked Egypt and were repulsed with great slaughter by the Egyptians. Rameses decorated the walls of his temple at Medinet Habu with reliefs depicting his victory, and the Philistines and their allies are shown carrying swords just like this, which were also borne by the Shardana mercenaries of the Egyptians, who belonged to the same group of seafaring races. The type is well known from all representations of the Shardanas and the Philistines.

The weapon is heavy and not well balanced, though perhaps we can hardly go so far as to call it clumsy. As it stands before us it does not look altogether like a sword at all, so that at first, before Mr. Burchardt and I noted its true character, it was taken to be a sort of spear. Its real character, however, as a sword is certain.

Its condition is very fine: only the hilt-tang is a little damaged at its end. The two edges of the blade are quite straight, so that the weapon has the form of a long isosceles triangle. In the middle of the blade on either side is a strong ridge. The width of the blade directly beneath the hilt is 8.5 cm., its length 1.05 m., including the hilt-tang. The hilt-covering was fastened by nails to the tang. Of it nothing whatever is preserved; but I believe that we can nevertheless obtain quite a good idea of the ancient appearance of the hilt. For the Egyptian reliefs show us that among the swords of the sea-peoples there were two kinds of sword-hilts, some with and others without protection for the hand. If the representations may be trusted—and, to all appearance, they may be—our sword belongs to the type without protection for the hand, since those with this protection or hilt-covering show an entirely different form of tang from this of ours. The great representation of the sea-fight against the peoples of the sea shows two kinds of enemy; the one is armed with a helmet, like the well-known Shardana helmets (with a half-moon and ball on the top), the other bears the high feather head-dress of the Philistines, which was still worn by the Lycians of Asia Minor in the time of Herodotus.

Now, so far as can be made out, in this representation of seven Philistines six carry the sword without protection for the hand, while of four Shardana who are armed with swords only a single one has a sword without protection for the hand.¹ So that our opinion, expressed above, that this weapon is Philistine, becomes more probable than ever.

Considered in the light of the history of sword development our weapon may be regarded as marking the transition from the thrusting rapier of the Minoans and Mycenaeans to the hewing sword, a transition which is perhaps already seen in the continental sword-forms of the shaft-graves at Mycenae.

This sword is unique, no other actual representative of the type being known. Our knowledge of the existence of the type having hitherto been derived only from monumental representations, the discovery of an actual specimen is of importance. The fact that it is probably a weapon of the Philistine enemies and conquerors of the Israelites adds very considerably to its interest.

The PRESIDENT thought the comparison with the Shardana sword quite felicitous, but preferred to wait for more evidence from the Philistine area in Palestine before attributing the sword to that people. One of the swords already discovered there, was of the Minoan horned type, and the present specimen stood quite alone, apparently representing a stage in the evolution of which the more primitive forms were missing. In any case it had no affinity with the earlier Minoan sword, which was a rapier for thrusting, whereas this was a cutting weapon. The Phaestos disc threw light on the earlier history of a non-Cretan people, with feathered crest and the same round shield as the later Philistines and Shardana, and who seem to have inhabited a region in the south-west of Asia Minor in the sixteenth century B.C. The Shardana were mercenaries probably identical with the people found later in the western Mediterranean under the name of Sardinians.

Mr. CRACE asked whether the sword had been recently discovered, or had only been recently recognized in the British Museum. It was important to have details and to ascertain the exact locality; but little reliance was to be placed on histories furnished by dealers.

Mr. LEEDS suggested a connexion with the Caucasus. A series at Oxford recently excavated for the British Museum in the Haran east of Carchemish seemed to him allied to some from

¹ Photos. 455-9 of the Eduard Meyer photographic expedition of 1912.
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Koban figured by Chantre,¹ more especially the types of dress, the terra-cottas, and a model wagon.

Mr. HALL replied that he admitted the possibility of a non-Philistine origin for the sword, and agreed with the President that it had no connexion with the Mycenaean type. But as the Shardana were allies of the Philistines who were seen using that type of sword, it was natural to conclude that the sword was probably Philistine. The Philistines came into Palestine from south-west Asia Minor, where their characteristic head-dress was found among the Lycians, so that a Caucasian origin for this 'Philistine' sword was by no means impossible. The helmet of the Shardana also had Caucasian analogues. In any case, whether Philistine or not, the sword was certainly Shardana, and belonged to the 'Peoples of the Sea', who attacked Palestine and Egypt in the twelfth century B.C. and left the Philistines settlement on the coast. The site of the discovery was Bêt Dagin, a name evidently connected with the Philistine god Dagon.

Thanks were ordered to be returned for these communications.

THURSDAY, 4th MARCH, 1915.

Sir CHARLES HERCULES READ, Knt., LL.D., Vice-President, in the Chair.

The following gifts were announced, and thanks for the same ordered to be returned to the donors:

From O. M. Dalton, Esq., F.S.A.:—The Letters of Sidonius. Translated with notes by O. M. Dalton. 2 vols. 8vo. Oxford, 1915.

From the New Spalding Club: Territorial Soldiering in the north-east of Scotland during 1746-1747. By J. M. Bulloch. 4to. Aberdeen, 1914.

On the motion of the Treasurer, seconded by the Secretary, it was resolved:

'That the sum of £102 4s. be expended on re-wiring that portion of the Society's apartments formerly occupied by the Assistant Secretary.'

This being an evening appointed for the election of Fellows, no papers were read.

¹ *Recherches anthropologiques dans le Caucase.*

WALTER MONEY, Esq., F.S.A., exhibited a figure of our Lord, of enamelled copper, from a crucifix; Limoges work of the end of the twelfth or beginning of the thirteenth century.



ENAMELLED COPPER FIGURE FROM A CRUCIFIX ($\frac{2}{3}$).

Lt.-Col. CROFT LYONS, F.S.A., exhibited an inscribed fire-back and two fire-dogs, one with the badge of Pelham.

The ballot opened at 8.45 p.m. and closed at 9.30 p.m., when the following were declared elected Fellows of the Society:

Henry Dyke Acland, Esq.
Walter Leo Hildburgh, Esq., M.A., Ph.D.
John Quekett, Esq., M.A.
Edmund Fraser, Esq., M.A.
William Vaux Graham, Esq.
Wilfrid Ward, Esq.
John Harley, Esq., M.A.

THURSDAY, 11th MARCH, 1915.

Sir ARTHUR JOHN EVANS, Knt., D.Litt., F.R.S.,
President, in the Chair.

The following gifts were announced, and thanks for the same ordered to be returned to the donors:

From H. Ling Roth, Esq.:—Clentine rambles; or, a companion to the Hills of Clent. By William Harris. 8vo. Hales Owen, 1845.

From the Author:—A Saxon brooch from Brislingcote, near Burton-on-Trent. By Rev. G. Montagu Benton. 8vo. Cambridge, 1914.

The following were admitted Fellows:

John Quekett, Esq., M.A.

Walter Leo Hildburgh, Esq., M.A., Ph.D.

C. R. PEERS, Esq., M.A., Secretary, exhibited a Saxon pillow-stone, recently discovered at Lindisfarne, on which he read the following note:

This stone belongs to a small class which first came to notice in 1833 at Hartlepool. About 150 yds. south-east of the church of St. Hilda, in digging for the foundations of some new buildings, a number of skeletons were found, lying north and south at a depth of $3\frac{1}{2}$ ft. A large number of the skulls were resting on small flat plain stones, varying from 4 in. to 5 in. square, and under a few were discovered stones bearing inscriptions and marked with the cross.¹ It is not known how many of these stones were found, but seven complete ones are now in existence, four in the British Museum, two in the museum of the Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle-upon-Tyne, and one in Durham Cathedral Library. The largest rectangular stone was $11\frac{1}{2}$ in. square, but parts of a circular stone $13\frac{1}{2}$ in. across were found. The inscriptions were in Saxon or Runic characters, and consisted of a single name, of a name with ORATE PRO above it, or in one case AΩ. On one stone three names occurred, with ORATE PRO, and it is worthy of note that one of these names, EDILUINI, occurred by itself on another stone, and the other two, with ORATE PRO, on yet another.

The monastery of Hartlepool was founded in 640 by Heiu, a native of Ireland, under the auspices of St. Aidan. It was a double house. Heiu retired to Tadcaster in 649, and St. Hilda succeeded her as abbess. In 657 she went to found the monastery at Whitby. Bede (*Vita Sci Cuthberti*, iv, 214) says that after a time the house became a nunnery only; it appears to have

¹ *Gent. Mag.*, Sept. 1833, p. 219.

been so by 686. The date of its disappearance is not known; probably the Danes destroyed it about 800.

That the burials found were those of the inhabitants of the early monastery can hardly be doubted, and their date must fall within the seventh and eighth centuries. In 1838, and again in 1848, single stones of the same character were found at Hartlepool, and others, more or less similar, are recorded from Wensley in Wensleydale, Yorkshire (3), Billingham, Durham (1), and Birtley in North Tynedale (1). One was also found at Lindisfarne in 1888, and to it must be added the present specimen. None of these stones, however, was in its original position.

St. Aidan was sent from Iona to Northumbria in 635, and settled at Lindisfarne in that year, which is the earliest date for the establishment of a Christian community in the island. He died in 652, and the monastery existed till 868, when it was finally destroyed by the Danes, who had burnt it once before in 793. The most interesting fact in its history is its connexion with St. Cuthbert, who came there from Melrose in 664, and was Bishop of Lindisfarne from 686 to his death in 688.

Lindisfarne is therefore the first Celtic Christian settlement in Northumbria, and Hartlepool more or less a daughter house; it is therefore to be expected that the relics from their sites should be similar, which is indeed the case. That these gravestones have an Irish origin is to be inferred from the fact that stones of like character occur in Ireland, but it is curious that none such is known at Iona, the immediate parent of the Northumbrian houses.

One difference exists between the Lindisfarne stones and all others at present known, namely that they have rounded heads. Their resemblance to each other is close, and they cannot be far apart in date. That found in 1888 in the churchyard, outside the priory buildings, was exhibited to the Society by Sir William Crossman on 23rd May, 1889, and an account of it is printed in *Proceedings*, 2nd ser., vol. xii, p. 412. By the kindness of the Rev. Irwin Crawshaw, vicar of Holy Island, it is now once more exhibited to the Society, and may be briefly described as follows.

It is of a hard red sandstone, $8\frac{1}{4}$ in. high by $6\frac{3}{4}$ in. wide, with a semicircular head; the back is rough, and the greatest thickness of the stone is $1\frac{1}{2}$ in. The face is worked smooth but is much worn, and the cross and inscription cut on it are greatly defaced. The cross has triple outlines, which are carried round circles at the intersection and ends of the arms and head; at the foot is a semicircle of larger radius than the rest. There are faint traces of a border. Above the arms of the cross the stone is much worn, but there is some suggestion of an inscription. Below the arms is an inscription in two lines, divided by the

stem of the cross, which seems to be the name AEDBERECHT: the second, third, and fourth letters being indistinct (fig. 1).

The newly-found stone which I now exhibit was discovered in clearing out the north transept of the priory church in February 1915, and was not in its original position, nor was there anything to show how it came to be where it was. It is $8\frac{3}{4}$ in. high, $6\frac{3}{4}$ in.

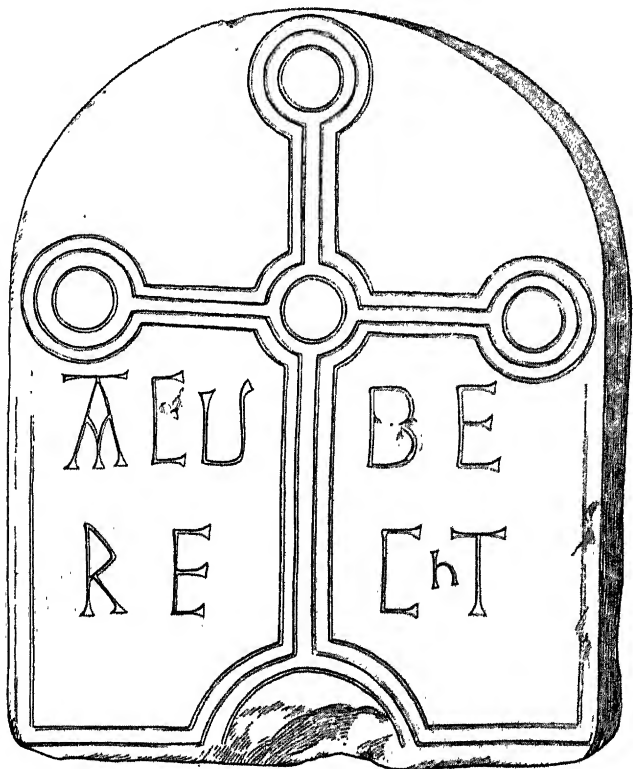


Fig. 1. PILLOW-STONE OF AEDBERECHT (LINDISFARNE) ($\frac{1}{2}$).

wide at the base, tapering to $5\frac{1}{2}$ in. where the curve of the rounded head begins, and the greatest thickness is 2 in. It is of a hard red sandstone. The back is rough and irregular, the lower part, together with the two lower angles of the stone, being flaked and broken away. The sides are worked smooth, and the face is very carefully rubbed down to an even surface. At the head and on the right edge it is rather worn, but otherwise the lines of the cross and the inscriptions, which are very carefully incised, are well preserved. The cross, which is cut with double lines, has

a circular sinking at the intersection of the arms, and semicircles, not sunk, at their ends, the double lines continuing round the margin of the face to make a frame for the cross and inscriptions. Below the arms of the cross, and divided by the stem, is the name OSGYTH in Saxon letters, preceded by a cross, and above the arms is the same name in runes, $\mathfrak{F}\mathfrak{H}\mathfrak{X}\mathfrak{A}\mathfrak{P}$. This is clearly

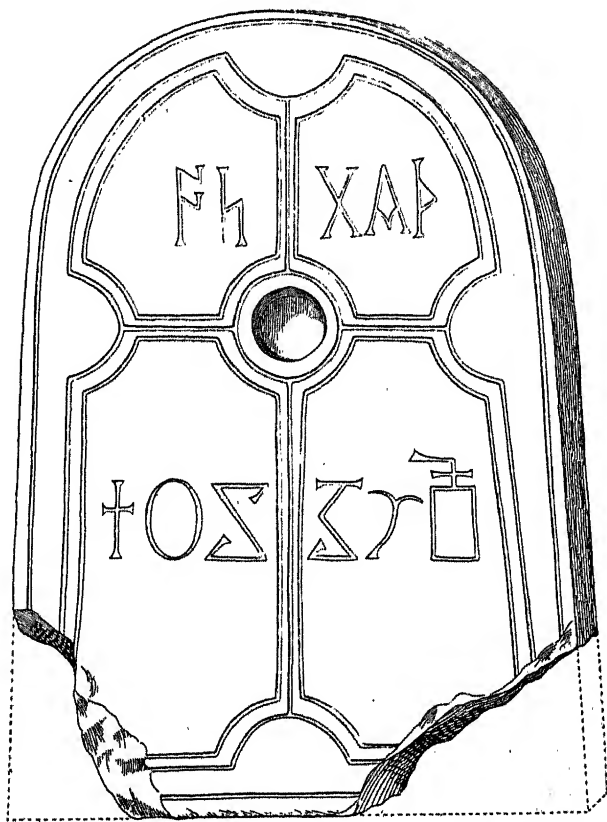


Fig. 2. PILLOW-STONE OF OSGYTH (LINDISFARNE) ($\frac{1}{2}$).

a woman's name, and is interesting as giving evidence of the double nature of the early monastery, a fact not hitherto, I believe, definitely known (fig. 2).

The term pillow-stone seems appropriate, in view of the use of these slabs as demonstrated by the discovery at Hartlepool. But it seems curious that some of them should bear the words ORATE PRO if they were to be buried for ever from sight, never

to attract the eye of the passer-by. It would be very interesting to know definitely whether the Hartlepool stone, already referred to, which invited prayers for three persons whose names, it would seem, were also found on other stones, was in fact found beneath a skull. It would seem more in the nature of things that it should have been laid on the ground above the graves.

In vol. i of the *Journal of the British Archaeological Association* (pp. 185-96) the late Father Haigh gives a description of the Hartlepool stones, and kindred stones in Ireland, and says

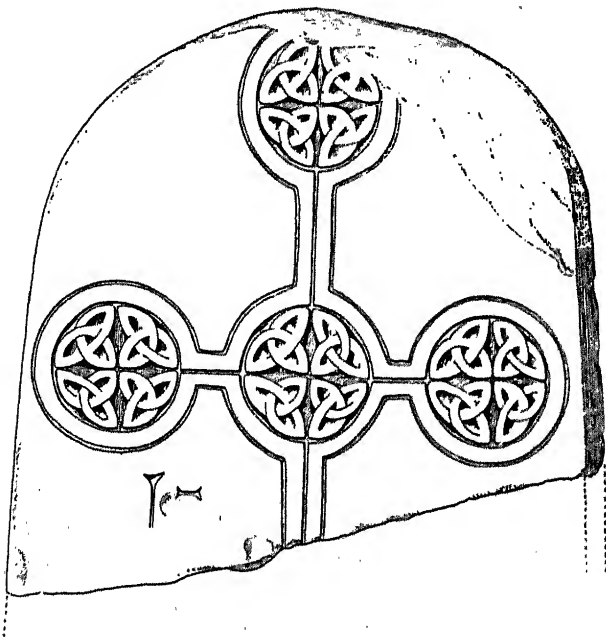


Fig. 3. PILLOW-STONE WITH CROSS (LINDISFARNE) ($\frac{1}{2}$).

that the stones which were inscribed were *above* the heads of the skeletons, and that the pillow-stones beneath the heads were uninscribed. This was written within twelve years of their discovery, and would be a most important detail if it could be proved, but the earliest account, that in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for 1833, distinctly states that the inscribed stones were found beneath the skulls.

Perhaps further discoveries may settle this question.¹

¹ Since the reading of this note a second stone has been found at Lindisfarne, and is here illustrated (fig. 3). It is unfortunately incomplete,

The PRESIDENT thought the exhibit interesting as coming from the cradle of Christianity in England. The cross and semicircles were characteristic of Celtic Christian art, but were not confined to Ireland. An important point was the preservation of the inscription, which would have perished if the stone had been long above ground.

Sir HERCULES READ laid stress on the interest of the pillow-stone as a specimen of palaeography. The letters were beautifully cut, and had many features in common with the well-known examples in England. He confessed some doubt as to their use as pillow-stones. Though the original account said they were found under the skulls, one would hardly expect to find an inscribed stone in that position. The condition of the inscription carried more weight, and whether above or below ground it had evidently been protected from the action of the weather. He noticed a resemblance between the Saxon characters on the Lindisfarne stone and those of the inscription on St. Cuthbert's coffin, but was not certain of the latter's date.

Mr. REGINALD SMITH thought the meeting would have listened with still greater pleasure to a longer paper on what was to him one of the most moving exhibitions he had seen in that room. It took one back to the earliest days of English history, to the beginnings of Christianity in the north, to the most primitive script and alphabet in England, indeed to days before the alphabet was universally adopted in those parts. Sketches of the other known examples together with the old English *futhorc* would add immensely to the value of the paper when printed, and he hoped that this latest national monument would be given the prominence it deserved.

Mr. PEERS replied that he had purposely refrained from repeating what had been already published, and had only a few suggestions to add to what was already known with regard to pillow-stones. The present specimen was more interesting than most on account of its biliteral inscription, in which respect it was unique. He thought St. Cuthbert's coffin was made shortly after 688, and as pillow-stones had been found with north-and-south burials (presumably before the Christian rule was adopted), he felt little hesitation in dating the Lindisfarne stone about 700.

being broken below the arm of the cross, but is interesting as having the circles at the head and ends of the arms ornamented with interlacing patterns of triple knots. There was an inscription below the arms, but only traces of the letters remain.

H. CLIFFORD SMITH, Esq., M.A., F.S.A., exhibited an engraved horn now in the possession of Miss Martineau.

The horn, which is exhibited to-night through the kindness of the owner, Miss Martineau, was formerly the property of Mr. Charles Shaw-Lefevre, of Heckfield Place, Handfordbridge, Hampshire. He was Speaker of the House of Commons from 1839 to 1857, and on his retirement was raised to the peerage as Viscount Eversley of Heckfield. It is uncertain whether the horn belonged originally to the Shaws or the Lefevres; but it more probably came from the Lefevre family, and passed, with the estate, to Viscount Eversley's father, Mr. John Shaw, through his marriage in 1789 with Helena, daughter and heiress of John Lefevre, a member of a Normandy family long settled at Heckfield Place. The horn hung for years in the gun-room at Heckfield, where it was often handled by the Rev. Charles Kingsley, who was Rector of Eversley, and a frequent visitor to the house. Viscount Eversley died in 1888; and in 1895 Heckfield Place was sold with its contents, when the horn fell into the hands of the head gamekeeper. It hung for a time in the keeper's cottage and was eventually given by him to the schoolmaster of Strathfieldsaye. He in turn presented it to Miss Martineau, of Park Corner, Heckfield, whose father, Mr. John Martineau, had been a friend of Charles Kingsley.

Apart from its antiquarian importance and its probable association with definite events in the history of British naval and military prowess in the eighteenth century, the horn possesses a special interest from a literary point of view as the original of the horn described in the opening chapter of *Westward Ho!*

The 'wondrous horn', as Kingsley describes it, 'covered with rough etchings of land and sea', belonged to Salvation Yeo, who 'had it', he said, 'from a Portingal, down to the Azores'. The horn does not actually answer to the 'marvel', which, by the gallant adventure it suggested, fired the ardent spirit of the youthful hero whom Kingsley's fancy had created, but it at any rate gave the author his idea.

The horn—the Eversley Horn, I have called it, after its former owner and from its association with Charles Kingsley—is an ordinary bullock's horn, 12½ in. in straight length, 14½ in. measured round the longest curve, and 3 in. wide at the mouth. The mouth near the opening has been pierced with two holes now filled up, and it is possible that the end may once have been closed and the horn used as a powder horn (fig. 1). The yellow surface, 7 in. from the pierced point, is cut away to the dark horn below. Upon the yellow surface of the remaining 7½ in., forming the widest end, is a delicately engraved map showing two harbours, Port Havana and Port Matanzas, on the



Fig. 1. THE EVERSLEY HORN

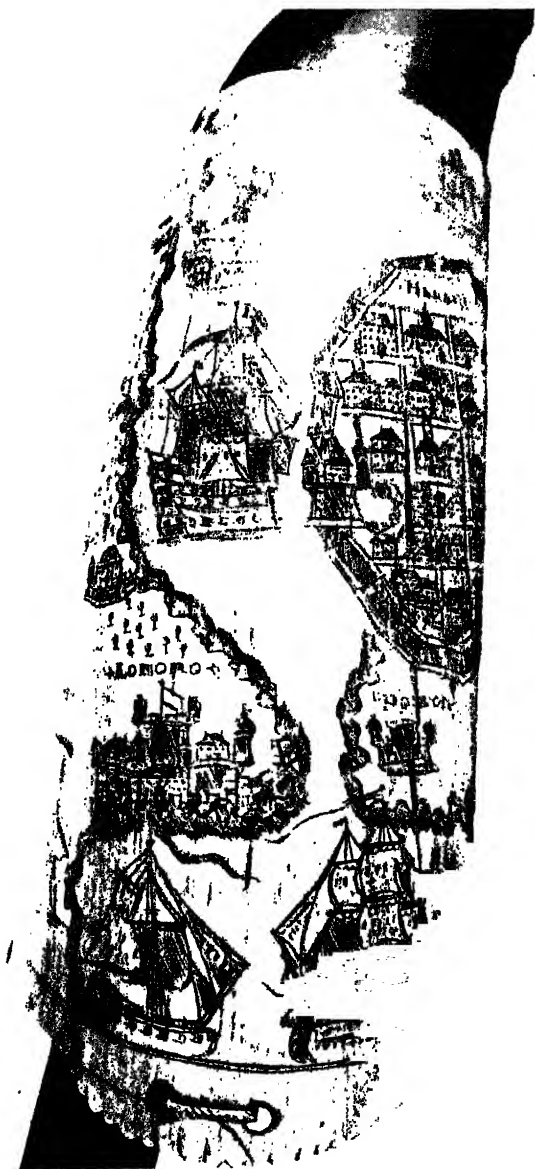


Fig. 2. THE EVERSLEY HORN: DETAIL

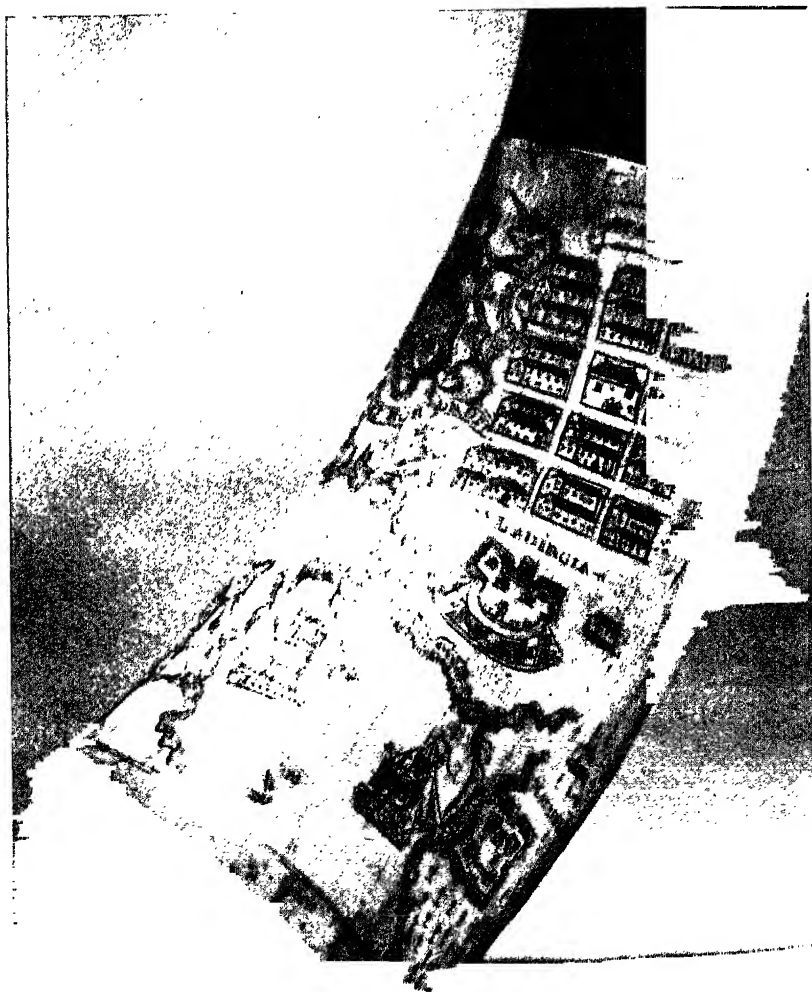


Fig. 3. THE EVERSLEY HORN: DETAIL

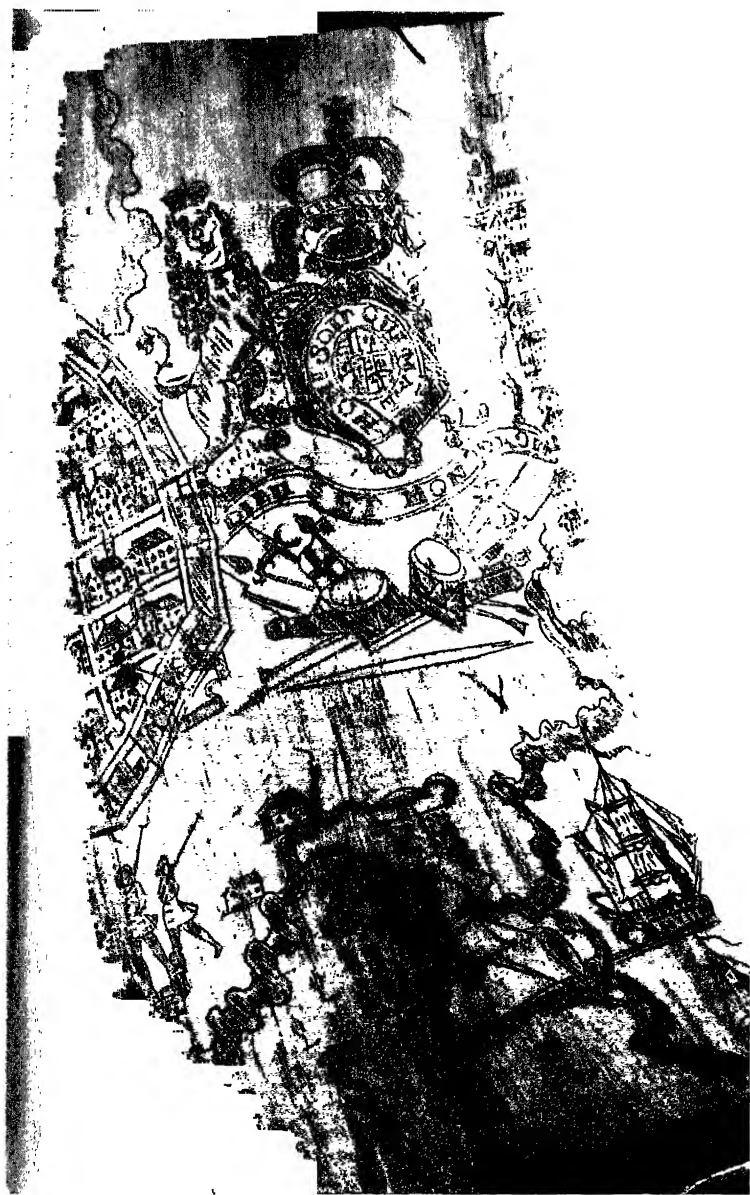


Fig. 4. THE EVERSLEY HORN : DETAIL

north-west of the Island of Cuba, with bird's-eye views and the names of the two towns, and of the several forts protecting them. The engraved lines are in red edged with black ; most of the names are in black, but a few are in red.

The greater part of the surface is occupied with a map of the Port of Havana, the capital. At the entrance to the harbour, on the town side, is the *Castello de la Punta* (the Point Fort) called on the horn Ponton, and on the opposite shore a large fortress, *Castello del Morro*, here called *Lomoro* (fig. 2). Projecting into the harbour is the town of Havana circular in plan with its ramparts and gateways, and on the shore opposite it another fort, *Regla*, here called *Regela*. The smaller map shows Port Matanzas, called Matanzia, with Matanzas Fort (now San Severino) at the entrance, the river Yumuri, the square, unwallled town of Matanzas protected by a fort called *Lavirgia* (not marked on the modern map), and beyond, the river San Juan (fig. 3). The Admiralty charts of the two harbours have been kindly exhibited by the Royal Geographical Society for purposes of comparison.

The mouth of the harbours, it will be noticed, debouches to the south instead of the north, but the points of the compass are right if the horn is inverted. Though the spelling is faulty, the topography is generally correct, and considerable ingenuity has been displayed in compressing the map on to the inconveniently shaped surface of the horn. The difficulty of engraving on a surface of the toughness of horn is so great that the work must have been done by some one who had made a constant practice of this kind of ornamentation, or else had been trained as an engraver. It is quite conceivable that it was executed with an engraver's burin or an etching needle.

In addition to the maps and views, the horn is further decorated with a number of full-rigged sailing-vessels, armed men-of-war flying at the stern the St. George's cross to represent the white ensign, and other ships, which occupy the waterways and roadsteads. On the inner curve of the horn is a man on horseback, another with a gun and dog, and several figures carrying muskets. Above the horseman in the centre is engraved the royal arms of England as borne by the sovereigns of the House of Hanover from 1714 until 1801, when the fleurs-de-lis of France were removed from the royal shield of England. Below the shield is a trophy of arms and weapons (fig. 4).

The map is not dated ; and it is not possible from the map itself to ascertain the date at which it was executed. Mr. Reeves, map curator at the Royal Geographical Society, who has assisted me in identifying the topography, and Mr. Chubb, of the Map Room of the British Museum, are in agreement that, from the

peculiar character of the mapping, the engraving has been taken from a map considerably earlier in date than the eighteenth century; but though Mr. Chubb has examined a considerable number of maps and charts, he has not been successful in identifying the actual map which has served as its prototype.

There can be little question that the horn is to be associated with some definite event in the naval and military history of this country and the Island of Cuba in the eighteenth century.

During the period between 1714 and 1801 indicated by the royal arms two British expeditions were carried out against the Island of Cuba.

In 1739 England declared war against Spain, and her first attempts were directed against the Spanish-American colonies. The first expedition against Cuba took place in 1742 under Admiral Edward Vernon. Santiago de Cuba on the south coast of the island was attacked, and troops, commanded by General Wentworth, were landed, but no success resulted. Some striking letters dealing with this ill-fated expedition were published in 1744 in a volume entitled *Original Papers relating to the Expedition to the Island of Cuba*, which show that the attack was confined to the south of the island and that no attempt was made on Havana.

The second expedition against Cuba was made in 1762; and it is practically certain that it is to this second and successful expedition, which was carried out under Admiral Sir George Pocock and Lord Albemarle, that the horn actually refers.

'On March 5', says Admiral Mahan, 'Pocock, who had returned from the East Indies, sailed from Portsmouth, conveying a fleet of transports to act against Havana; in the West Indies he was reinforced from the forces in that quarter, so that his command contained nineteen ships of the line besides smaller vessels and ten thousand soldiers'.... 'He was joined off Cape St. Nicholas by the West Indian reinforcement on 27th of May, and as the season was so far advanced, he took his great fleet through the Old Bahama channel instead of the usual route around the south side of Cuba. This was justly considered a great feat in those days of poor surveys and was accomplished without an accident. Lookout and sounding vessels went first, frigates followed, and boats or sloops were anchored on shoals with carefully arranged signals for day or night. Having good weather, the fleet got through in a week and appeared before Havana. The operations will not be given in detail. After a forty days' siege the Morro Castle was taken on the 30th of July, and the city surrendered on the 10th of August. The Spaniards lost not only the city and port, but twelve ships-of-the-line, besides £3,000,000 in money and merchandise belonging to the

Spanish king' (*The Influence of Sea Power upon History*, pp. 314-15).¹

Mr. G. Pinhorne, a member of the Society for Nautical Research, has supplied me with the following striking information:

'Three ships are mentioned as being particularly engaged in the attack on the Morro forts, viz.: *Dragon* (74 guns), *Cambridge*, and *Marlborough*. Near the margin of the horn and immediately abreast of Morro one of the largest of the ships is depicted. This possibly represents the *Dragon* (the figure-head is suggestive, if not quite convincing). To the left of the *Dragon* is a typical hoy or store-ship. Higher up, and on the other side of the "Morro" passage, are two more large vessels, less powerful than the *Dragon*. These may be taken as the *Cambridge* and *Marlborough*. The sketchy figure-head of the upper ship of these two might be interpreted as that of the famous Duke of Marlborough *en perruque* (fig. 2). It appears that the "frigate" class of vessel was employed in our navy for the first time in this campaign. In front of Matanzas fort are shown two of the frigate class with a store-ship (fig. 3). Another good example of the frigate is given immediately astern of the *Dragon*, on the margin (fig. 1). Further investigation might assist one to a clearer understanding of other details in the engravings, e.g. the General (?) on horseback and the Admiral (?) with his gun and dog. It is possible that the three small figures dressed in top boots and jackets are Spanish infantry or coast-guards.'

A series of oil paintings representing the complete operations, the work of Dominic Serres, R.A., marine painter to George III, is preserved at Kensington Palace. It includes views of the fleet sailing down the old Straits of Bahama, the naval engagements, and the capture of Havana. A set of eighteen engravings from these pictures is exhibited in the museum of the Royal United Service Institution. It is interesting to recall the fact that Serres himself, who was a Gascon by birth, ran away from his home, and, after various adventures, eventually became master of a Spanish trading vessel to Havana. He was there taken prisoner by a British frigate, and was brought about 1758 to England, where he settled down as a painter of naval subjects.

It was not uncommon for draughtsmen, for topographical work, to be carried on board ship at this date. Admiral Lord Anson in his voyages of about 1750 carried them. Further, the press-gang was at its worst about this period and might easily have caught an apprentice-engraver in its net. The use of a horn of this kind for the purpose of an engraving is essentially

¹ A detailed historical account of these operations is given in the *Annual Register* for 1762.

Spanish ; and it is possible that the artist-topographer acquired the art of engraving on horn from a Spaniard.

In 1893 two horns similarly engraved with maps of several waterways in North America, with the names of various forts, towns, islands, lakes, and rivers along their courses were exhibited before the Society.¹ One, the property of Mr. F. W. Lucas and shown by Mr. C. Trice Martin, was engraved with the scrap of the continent of America now forming the greater part of the modern State of New York, with the addition of a small portion of the Dominion of Canada containing Montreal. The other, which belongs to the Scarborough Museum, and was exhibited by Mr. R. C. Hope, is engraved with similar routes, though not all the same names, and with the cities and towns of Albany and Schenectady. It bears a shield-of-arms, at present unidentified,² and the initials W. E. S. There is no history attached to it. I have no illustration of the Lucas horn ; but through the kindness of the Scarborough Philosophical and Archaeological Society I am fortunate enough to have the Scarborough horn on exhibition (fig. 5). This horn, according to Mr. R. C. Hope, was probably made during the Seven Years' War, practically in 1759 or 1760. If this is correct it would almost coincide in date with the Eversley horn, and Mr. Trice Martin's surmise that the Lucas horn was probably one of several of the same kind turns out to be justified. I would not go so far as to say that the two horns here exhibited are by the same hand, but they certainly belong to the same date and category.

The regimental snuff mull belonging to the 2nd Battalion of the Royal West Surrey Regiment (the Queen's)—formerly the Second Queen's Royal Regiment—is made from a horn bearing a similar, but not identical, map showing part of North America. I had hoped to be able to exhibit it before the Society, but learn from the Officer Commanding, Depôt of the Queen's, Stoughton Barracks, Guildford, that the Battalion is fighting in Flanders, and that all the regimental plate is in safe keeping at a bank.

Rev. H. G. ROSEDALE remarked that the Horners Company had recently acquired a very elaborate engraved horn, which by comparison might afford a date for the specimen exhibited. There were very few such horns in London at the present time.

SIR HERCULES READ had seen six or more similar horns, which had been brought to his notice in recent years ; and curiously

¹ *Proceedings*, xiv, pp. 271 and 295.

² Az, on a chevron, between three mullets gold, as many trefoils slipped vert—perhaps for Consmaker. It is questionable if the coat here engraved is a genuine heraldic achievement.



Fig. 5. THE SCARBOROUGH HORN : DETAIL

enough most of them had borne maps and references to the coasts and islands of America. Several had been taken to Mr. Henry Stevens, F.S.A.,¹ an American bookseller, who created a monopoly and no doubt disposed of them on the other side of the Atlantic, hence their scarcity in London. His experience was all in favour of their having been carved by sailors on board ship, especially in the days of sailing ships. In more recent times they had exercised their ingenuity on teeth of the sperm whale, a much better material for the purpose. Many specimens were engraved with considerable skill, and the requisite topographical knowledge could easily be derived from charts. He thought that the 'Eversley horn' should more properly be called the 'Shaw-Lefevre horn'.

W. H. QUARRELL, Esq., F.S.A., exhibited a fine silver tankard by Elston, bearing the Exeter date letter for 1710.

WORTHINGTON G. SMITH, Esq., F.L.S., Local Secretary for Bedfordshire, communicated the following paper on Maiden Bower, Bedfordshire:

Maiden Bower is situated near the southern boundary of Bedfordshire, less than two miles west of Dunstable. The map (fig. 1) shows the earthwork and the immediate neighbourhood east and west, where antiquities more or less connected with the camp occur. Dunstable is crossed at its centre in a north-westerly direction by the Roman Watling Street, and north-east and south-west by the Icknield Way, but the original British crossing was nearly three-quarters of a mile west of the centre of the town, and is indicated by a cross on the map. The western portion of the Icknield Way at Dunstable is now named West Street: the eastern portion, Church Street. The north-western part of the Green Way forms part of the ancient British uneven and circuitous road, the forerunner of the Watling Street, which runs in the direction of Chester. The roads are almost parallel at Dunstable, and a little more than half a mile apart.

The camp is situated on the Lower Chalk or Chalk-without-flints. It is irregularly circular, and encloses 10 acres, 2 rods, and $25\frac{1}{2}$ square yards of arable land. The interior dimensions are from north to south 775 ft., from east to west 750 ft., from north-east to south-west 776 ft., from north-west to south-east 735 ft. The interior surface is almost flat, dipping 7 ft. from south to north. The west side is 4 ft. 6 in. higher than the centre, and the east side is 2 ft. higher. It is almost surrounded

¹ Publisher of F. W. Lucas's *Appendiculæ Historiæ; or shreds of history hung on a horn*, where a similar horn is figured as a frontispiece.

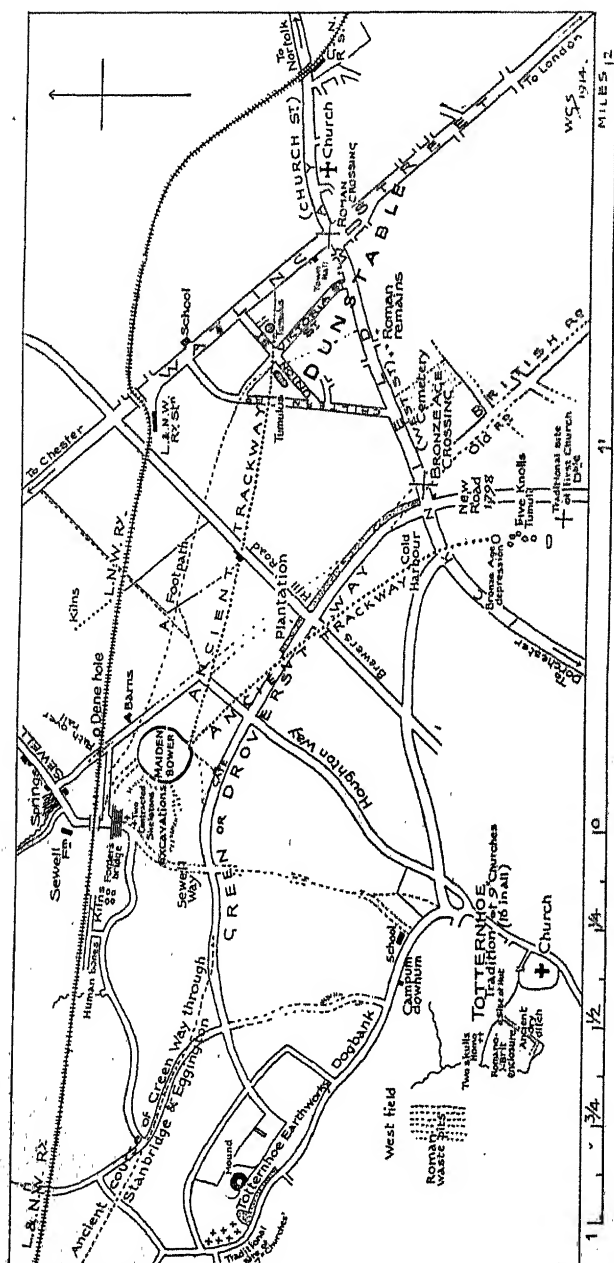


Fig. 1. SKETCH-MAP OF MAIDEN BOWER AND NEIGHBOURHOOD.

by a vallum formed of chalk rubble. It was originally almost surrounded by a fosse, some 24 ft. or 25 ft. wide and 8 ft. deep. The vallum varies in width from 28 ft. at the south-west and 27 ft. at the north-east, to 16 ft. at the north-west. The height varies from 10 ft. 6 in. at the north-east to 6 ft. 3 in. near the eastern entrance, measured from the outside. All heights are less as seen from the inside. No doubt the vallum has weathered since its erection, and this weathering still goes on, as pieces of recently fallen chalk can generally be seen near the base. Some parts are, however, less weathered than others, and a proof of slight weathering is the fact that I once found three globular hammer-stones or flint mullers side by side amongst roots and dead stems of plants on the top of the vallum, and at another time a small collection of flint sling- or throw-stones of flaked flint also on the top; these objects had probably lain undisturbed from the time they were made.

Part of the edge of the fosse is visible at the north-east corner of the plan (fig. 2), where it is marked. It was not carried any further north at this point. The ground inside the camp, near the line of the visible margin of the fosse, is 10 ft. higher than outside; this is in part due to the fosse not being entirely filled in.

The line of excavation of the chalk at 8 on the upper left-hand corner of the plan exposed a section of the fosse longitudinally to its base; it showed that the fosse ceased at the entrance no. 4. The fosse was 8 ft. deep and 140 ft. long, and was filled in with chalk rubble including old broken bones, flint flakes, one or two scrapers, teeth, and such objects as are commonly to be found on the surface.

The vallum has five or seven entrances and depressions, the largest and true entrance being at the south; all are shown in fig. 2.

1. This entrance has always been described, owing to its large size and the ancient tracks towards Dunstable and Dunstable downs, as the main entrance. The widest spread of the opening on the top of the vallum is 77 ft., the entrance at base is 30 ft. wide with a slight rise towards the inside, the vallum is 18 ft. wide at right and left of entrance, the highest part is 8 ft., the lowest on the inside is a little less.

2. This opening from end to end of the splays at top is 32 ft. across; it is now only 9 ft. in the clear at the ground line. The ascent to the camp is 20 ft. This opening has obviously been mutilated, and now presents raw chalk sides, partly of quite recent date. It has every appearance of having been at first a mere lowering of the top of the vallum.

3. A mere depression 35 ft. wide, height of untouched bank

outside 8 ft. 6 in., at middle of depression 4 ft. 6 in., inside 3 ft., vallum 16 ft. wide, girth of the highest part 21 ft., at lowest 15 ft., apparently a typical untouched ancient depression, never suitable for use with a horse and cart.

4. The entrance on ground line is 14 ft. 6 in. wide with splays spreading to 45 ft. The vallum is 10 ft. high outside, height inside 4 ft., girth of bank 16 ft. 6 in., the ground sloping down from the inside to the outside with a slight ogee curve. Perhaps not a true entrance as a cart could only be driven up the slope with difficulty.

5. This depression faces direct north and is in great part natural; it represents, at any rate in part, the natural drainage surface in the direction shown by the arrows: there is a fall of 7 ft. from the south entrance. This depression can hardly be termed artificial, for there is no need for an entrance here, there being a large, clearly defined flat entrance a little to the east. The depressed curve in the bank is 60 ft. across, and the outer slope at the lowest part extends 12 ft. to the north.

6. This is now a wide flat open space, sloping into the field at the north. The vallum and fosse, if they ever existed, are gone. To what extent this part has been altered it is now impossible to say.

7. This depression faces the east; it is represented by a downward curve in the vallum to the outside. It is 40 ft. wide, with a fall in the centre of 3 ft. The highest part of the vallum on the right and left of the depression is 8 ft. 6 in., inside height 3 ft. 6 in., girth 23 ft. 6 in. The outside slope at its lowest part would be difficult for use with a horse and cart.

From the northern side the ground drops into a deep valley and a wide extent of country may be seen. The little village of Sewell is here close at hand (fig. 1), with an almost sudden drop of 144 ft. At this low position water is always present, sometimes the springs flow in great abundance from the banks into a brook which flows northwards. The Sewell springs, ponds, and brooks provided an ample supply of water for the occupants of the camp. The minor green way between the camp and the present barns led straight down to the water.

From the southern entrance of Maiden Bower there can be traced two, if not three, trackways. One leads eastwards for a little more than a mile to a position between two ruined tumuli, one long and the other round. The latter was the 'Windmill Hill' of seventy or more years ago; they were situated south-east and north-west of what is now Union Street (fig. 1). Traces of these tumuli can still be seen: the remains of the round tumulus are visible in a back yard almost opposite the iron church in Union Street. Of late years the long tumulus has

been much ruined. When Upper Union Street was first laid out, the long south-eastern edge was cut off and thrown into the field, afterwards the north-east side was in part levelled and barns erected. The remains, with barns on the top, can be seen on the north-west side of Union Street where marked on the map (fig. 1). The oldest inhabitants of Dunstable, including the

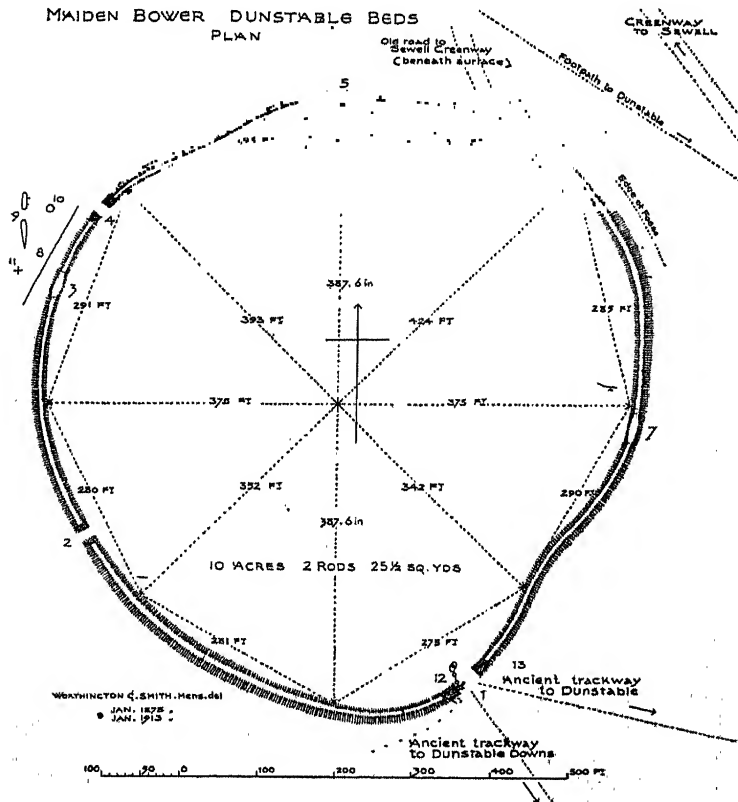


Fig. 2. PLAN OF MAIDEN BOWER EARTHWORK, DUNSTABLE, BEDS.

writer, can well remember these two perfect grass-grown mounds in a field with a footpath between them running from the Icknield Way to Maiden Bower.

The second trackway ran from Maiden Bower in a south-easterly direction for nearly a mile to the foot of Dunstable Downs, which it ascended: it ended at a flat depression, probably a look-out station, north of and close to the well-known Five Knolls tumuli. This latter trackway, though commonly

overlooked, can often be well seen, especially in winter and spring. From the north side of the tumuli the old trackway may be detected as a slightly depressed line a little darker in colour than the turf of the downs; its course can often be seen from the foot of the downs across the fields to a corner of the plantation, where shown on the map (fig. 1), and then straight into the chief entrance of Maiden Bower. A third, but doubtful, short trackway, seldom to be seen, runs from the main entrance in a westerly direction across the field—shown by a dotted line on the map—into the great Green Way. The remains of the old road at the north-east of the camp can seldom be seen.

There is little to be seen on the surface at and near Maiden Bower except white chalky land in various stages of cultivation. The surface of the land is chalk, strewn, especially within the camp, with worked flakes of white flint. The camp was constructed on the Lower Chalk, but nearly all the small pieces of flint belong to the Upper Chalk, which can be found *in situ* on the top of the downs. When unbroken the flints are generally black inside, but when disinterred from trenches which have been closed over for centuries they are mottled grey or sometimes slate colour outside, showing that a change of colour to white in the external surface has been acquired by decomposition after exposure for many centuries.

With the struck flakes are, or have been, large quantities of cores and scrapers and a smaller number of lance- and arrow-heads, the latter leaf-shaped or tanged, in equal numbers; many chipped flint throw-stones, each about the size of a walnut, have come to hand, with large numbers of chipped flint mullers the size of a cricket ball. Brown quartzite pebbles from the Tertiary deposits on the top of the downs occur; they are sometimes found with ends bruised from use as rubbers, hammers, or polishers, used in part for the fashioning of polished axes. Pieces and flakes of polished celts sometimes occur, broken in ancient times and sometimes re-chipped and made into scrapers. Finely chipped flint knives and so-called fabricators or strike-a-lights have often been found, as well as fine attenuated pieces of flint made for use as piercers. I have a piece of a flat stone handmill or quern of Andernach lava from the Rhine, the material of which must have been imported; I picked it up in the middle of the camp. I have five pieces of a quern of similar material found at Totternhoe, less than a mile to the south of the camp. Other pieces of handmills of Hertfordshire conglomerate have been found both inside and outside the camp, and I have seen such pieces amongst flints in cottage-garden borders and on 'rock-work' at Dunstable and elsewhere.

Although the camp belongs to the Bronze Age I have never

seen any bronze implements on the surface, but have picked up a small tabular piece of bronze with verdigris-white oxide. The late Mr. Thomas Cook, a former owner of Maiden Bower, once told me that when he was a little boy there were numerous bronze celts and other metal objects, lying about uncared for, at Sewell farm: none can be seen there now. An iron tanged spear-head with a socket for the insertion of a wooden handle was found close to the surface on the old road north of the camp, shown on the plan. A broken bone spindle has been found near the south entrance. A Roman intaglio of translucent, colourless paste was found by a workman on the surface near the southern entrance marked 13 on the plan.

Small pieces of Roman glass and one large piece, lustrous on one side and dull on the other, have been found. Roman coins have often been found, but no list has been kept, as well as pieces of British, Roman (including Samian), and medieval pottery.

I have often picked up on the surface of the camp pieces of old root-eaten human bones as well as pieces of human skulls and jaws, the latter sometimes containing teeth. Free human teeth, by no means modern but rugose with age and root-action, have also been collected. Teeth and broken jaws and bones of the Celtic shorthorn *Bos longifrons* sometimes occur on the surface, as well as broken old rugose bones of sheep, or goat and ox.

At rare intervals ochreous flakes of the oldest Palaeolithic Age may be picked up; these are derived from old deposits of contorted drift which occur on some of the hills. The local hill-tops at one time formed an undulating plain, and in the subsequent deepening of the valleys, first by glaciers and then by the torrential rains for many centuries, a partial residue of hill-top material became deposited in the valley bottoms. Most of the softer chalk was washed entirely away into initial river valleys.

During the very extensive excavations for chalk by Messrs. Forder & Co. on the west side of Maiden Bower, numerous discoveries of shallow pits, filled with chalk rubble, broken bones, antlers of fallow-deer, broken and cut antlers of red-deer, flints, etc., have been found. The sites of the old excavations close to the north-western exterior of the camp are shown on the plan, (fig. 2). A little farther off, to the west, not included on the plan, but shown on the map (fig. 1), various other filled-in excavations, sometimes belonging to Roman times, have been met with. A pit was found on the north-west, close to and south of Messrs. Forder & Co.'s railway bridge; it was round, 8 ft. in diameter and 10 ft. deep, filled with chalk rubble with only a few flints. Near by was a somewhat smaller excavation 4 ft. square and 6 ft. deep; it contained broken up human bones, representing reburials. Near the bridge, marked

with two crosses on the map (fig. 1), two contracted human skeletons were found, but I was not made aware of the discovery till too late. They were on the south side of the London and North Western Railway and close to the footpath which replaces the destroyed Sewell Way.

The two long grave-like excavations at 9 on fig. 2 were remarkable. The smaller was 25 ft. long, 10 ft. wide, and 4 ft. deep, the larger 43 ft. long, 10 ft. wide, and 3 ft. deep. They were excavated in 1897 and found to contain many split, root-eaten bones and broken or cut antlers of red and roe-deer. The bones, skulls, and jaws were chiefly of *Bos longifrons*, red-deer, horse, sheep or goat, pig and large dog. Amongst the bones were parts of a broken up human skeleton which represented an aged person, with greatly worn-down teeth. Strange to say there was also part of a humerus of *Bos primigenius*, white and root-eaten, a notable find, and part of a radius of the same ox but in a different mineral condition from the other bones. The humerus appeared to be of Pleistocene Age and derived from the red-clay drift of the hill-tops.

The long bones represented hundreds of animals that had been killed and eaten; nearly all the bones were split or broken across in the middle in pre-Roman times for the marrow. The bones were all rugose with age on the outer, inner, and split surfaces. On close examination of the long pieces of bone and antler I was enabled to rejoin some of them and partly rebuild the original bone or antler. In these examples none of the fractured surfaces was new and smooth, all were old and rugose.

Close to the sites of these discoveries on the north-west side of Maiden Bower, there could be seen, till a few years ago, on the north side of the railway cutting, traces of a deep well-like hole with its putlock holes, shown on map (fig. 1). It was lighted upon in 1860 whilst the excavation for the Dunstable and Leighton Buzzard railway was in progress. It was described by the late Mr. James Wyatt of Bedford in the *Times* for 9th October, 1860, and reprinted in the *Archaeologia Cambrensis* for 1861, p. 172 (see W. G. Smith, *Man the Primeval Savage*, p. 326). On a recent visit to this locality hardly any traces of this deep excavation could be seen.

In January 1907, whilst chalk digging was proceeding for Messrs. Forder & Co., several examples of Roman pottery were discovered at the position marked 10 (fig. 2). They were 3 ft. to 3 ft. 6 in. beneath the surface. There were eleven vases and pots in all, nine large and two small. Nearly all were broken, and one had been mended in Roman times with pitch. Six of the larger examples are illustrated (fig. 3), four of the larger

being cinerary urns. The pieces recovered were kindly given to me by Mr. Dan Cook.

The following is a brief description of the vases, pots, and paterae.

Fig. 3. A. Pale brown, clouded sooty slightly sprinkled with quartz sand.

B. Grey to blackish grey, spots darker, holes in rim for sus-

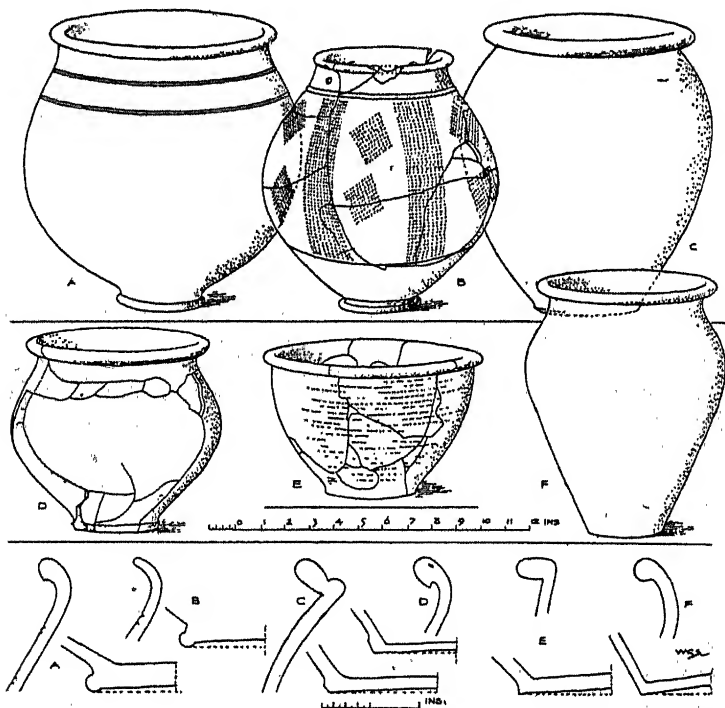


Fig. 3. MAIDEN BOWER: ROMAN POTTERY FROM OUTSIDE NW. ENTRANCE.

pension. Containing bones of a child or young person. Weight of bones 1 lb. 4 oz.

C. Sooty black, clouded sooty brown, crape-like to the touch with sand.

D. Ivory colour, slightly buff, gritty from small particles of fine quartz sand.

E. Dull reddish, not dark, speckled white with broken chalk or white flint and broken snail-shells of *Helix aspersa*, horizontal striae imperfect and gradually lost towards base.

F. Sooty blackish, speckled white with broken chalk or white

flint and broken snail-shells of *Helix aspersa*. Containing burnt bones of an adult.

g. Small vase $3\frac{1}{4}$ in. in diameter and barely $3\frac{3}{8}$ in. high, drab colour, slightly rough with sand.

h. A small vessel of black ware with two incised lines above and a flat base, rim broken away and lost. It appeared to be filled with fine chalk rubble. Retained by Mr. Dan Cook.

With the urns and other objects were five broken examples of bright-red Samian paterae (fig. 4). The potters' marks are 1. O FRON+N, 2. illegible, 3. BALBINVS F, 4. SACERO M, 5. PRIMANI M.

These names appear to be well known, no. 4 occurring in the British Museum collection. No. 5 is notable; this name appears in the Pudding-pan Rock series, and is recorded from London (see *Proceedings*, xxi, 279, fig. 11), where a similar example is illustrated by Mr. Reginald Smith. The section is very similar to the Maiden Bower specimen, but the latter has a more prominent boss and is a little larger in diameter, the depth being the same. The slight injury to the rim dates from Roman times. This example remains in the possession of Mr. Dan Cook.

With broken pottery in the vicinity was a bronzing ring, oxidized whitish-grey, $1\frac{1}{4}$ in. in diameter, held by an iron staple, nearly 3 in. long, greatly oxidized. Broken up burnt squared wood was exposed in the excavation, the pieces resembling parts of a box or coffin.

In July 1899 a perfect human skeleton was found outside Maiden Bower to the north-west. The site is marked 10 on the plan (fig. 2). The grave, either by design or accident, was oriented, and was 6 ft. deep; the upper portion of 4 ft. was dug through the middle of a large spread-out mass of old broken and split bones and chalk rubble, which had been buried in a large irregular excavation. This fact shows that the interment was of more recent date than the bone-splitting and marrow-eating period. The lower portion of 2 ft. was dug in the solid chalk. Although the body was buried in an oriented grave, yet the bones lay not with the head at the west, as the skeleton was extended with the head at the east. Every bone appeared to be present, and the evidence indicated that the buried person was an aged and rheumatic male. There was no trace of any coffin and no article of stone or metal found in the grave.

The femora were 1 ft. $5\frac{3}{8}$ in. long; this is equal to a height of 5 ft. 6 in. in the living person. The middle of the left femur showed signs of what appeared to be cuts from behind. The brachycephalic skull, which measured $7\frac{1}{4}$ in. by

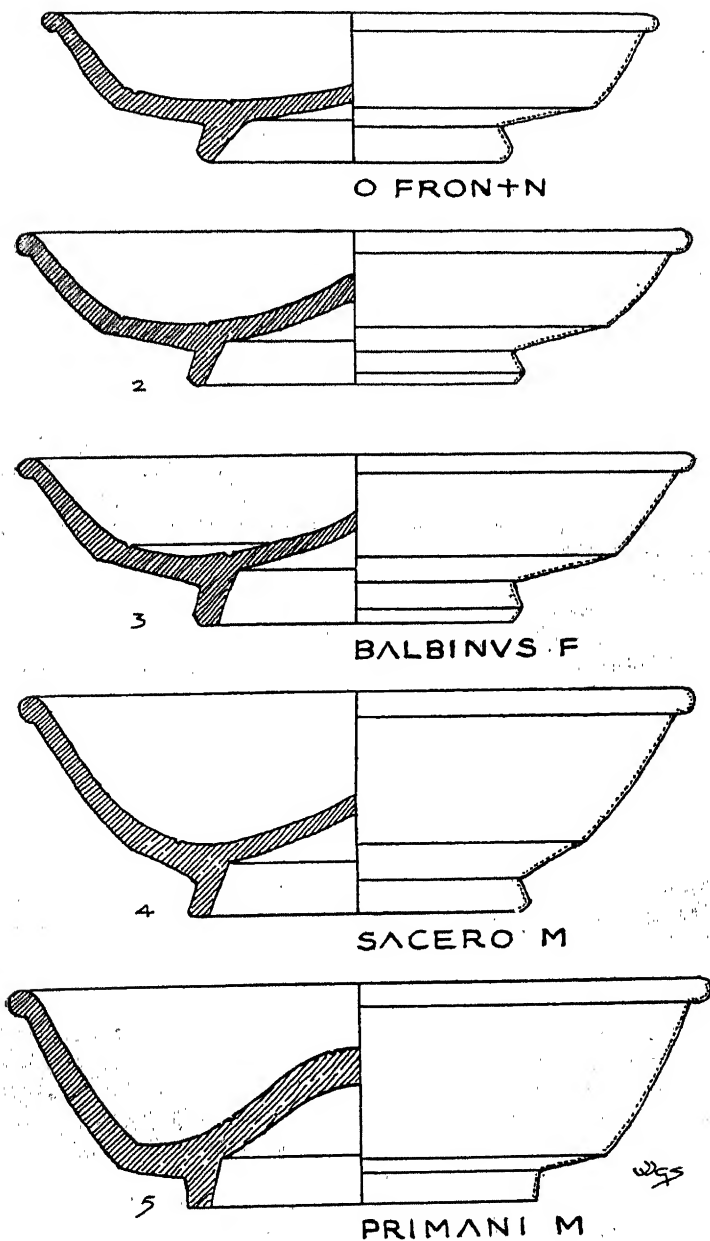


Fig. 4. MAIDEN BOWER: PLAIN SAMIAN DISHES ($\frac{1}{2}$): 1 FORM 18;
2-5 FORM 31.

5½ in., was large, well-formed, strong, and masculine, with the sutures considerably closed and grown over. The nasal bone was unusually projecting and there was a well-formed, somewhat prominent chin. The malar bones were very deep, and the lower mandible was deep and powerful. The molar teeth were mostly gone, and the cavities grown over with bone. The other teeth except one lower incisor were present. The remaining teeth exhibited severe damage which appeared to have been received at or just before death.

It is difficult to assign an age to this skeleton, but the skull agrees well with some Bronze Age specimens. It practically agrees with the Weaverthorpe skull figured by Canon Greenwell in *British Barrows*, p. 570. It also agrees with the Hesterton Wood skull, illustrated at p. 578 in the same work. The unusually deep malar bones are present in both these skulls. The occipital bone, however, shows a greater projection in the Maiden Bower example. A Bronze Age type of skull may have survived to medieval times.

The extended position, as opposed to the frequently contracted position of Bronze Age burials is notable, although extended Bronze Age burials are well known. The burial was in close proximity to Roman cremations, and the ground within the camp is distinctly higher than outside at this spot as if from some ruined structure beneath. There was no trace of a mound above the burial. The skeleton was returned to Messrs. Forder & Co.

In the thirteenth century, one Johannes de Maydeneburi, of the order of Augustinian canons, lived at Maiden Bower for many years. Towards the end of his career, John was removed to Bradeburne in Derbyshire, where he became suspected and dismissed from his living. Is it possible that after this degradation John returned to Maiden Bower, and if so, did the unwelcome return end in his violent death and burial with his feet to the west, as one unworthy of a Christian burial (see note at end)?

During the month of January 1913, Mr. Dan Cook, farmer and owner of the land on which Maiden Bower is situated, made an experimental excavation near the south and chief entrance (fig. 2). Mr. Cook selected the point of excavation within the principal entrance because he and his workmen often fancied that they heard a hollow sound when laden carts were led backwards and forwards through this entrance. I have heard field workmen say that the sound is heard immediately the cart, going outwards, reaches the outside of the vallum.

The digging commenced at E and proceeded to F on the plan (fig. 5), where the material proved to be comminuted chalk

that had been ploughed over for hundreds of years and exposed to air, frost, and rain.

The old prehistoric surface of the entrance of the camp was met with at 3 ft., and at 7 ft. the solid undisturbed chalk was reached.

Nothing special at first came to light ; the excavated material

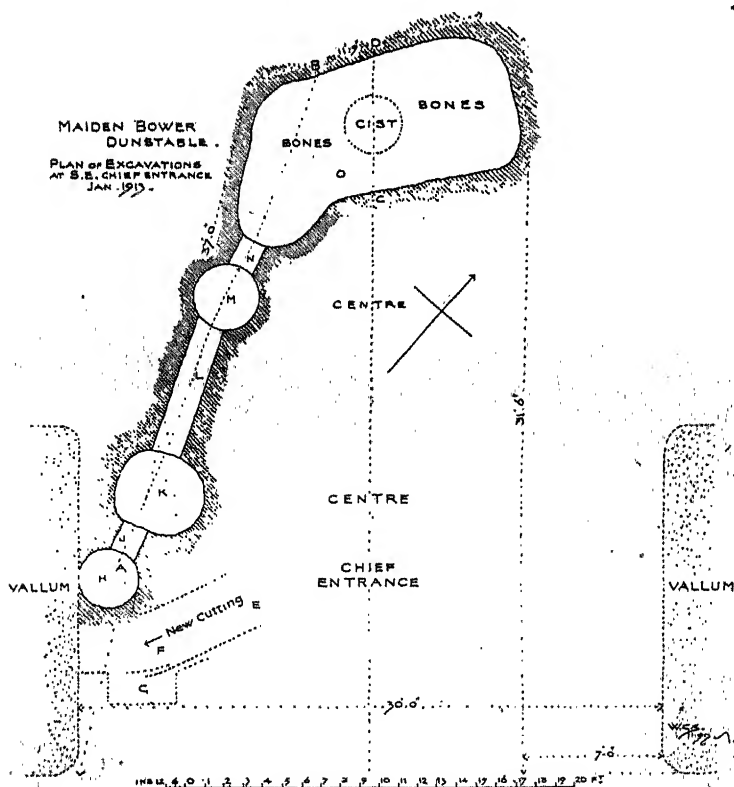


Fig. 5. MAIDEN BOWER: PLAN OF EXCAVATIONS AT SE. OF CHIEF ENTRANCE.

consisted of broken-up chalk, a few flints and simple flint flakes, a broken whetstone of millstone-grit, and a few old broken bones and fragments of Roman pottery. On reaching G an old passage filled with comminuted chalk was seen on the south, but this although excavated in Roman times was left unexplored. On reaching the foot of the vallum on the west side of the entrance an old shallow pit, H, 3 ft. in diameter and 1 ft. 9 in. deep, was reached ; it was 9 ft. 6 in. deep from the present surface. It

was cut for 1 ft. 9 in. into the solid chalk. This seemed reminiscent of a Roman latrine. From this there was a passage only 1 ft. 4 in. wide, J, which was cut in a northerly direction towards the interior of the camp; when this was explored for 18 in., a second circular depression 5 ft. in diameter and 2 ft. 3 in. deep was reached, K, and after opening up the passage L, 7 ft. long, a third circular cutting, M, of about the same diameter and depth as the first, H. From this there was a third passage, N, 1 ft. 6 in. long which opened into a large oblong-rounded excavation, O, 14 ft. long, 7 ft. wide, and from 10 ft. to 11 ft. deep. All the circular excavations with their connecting

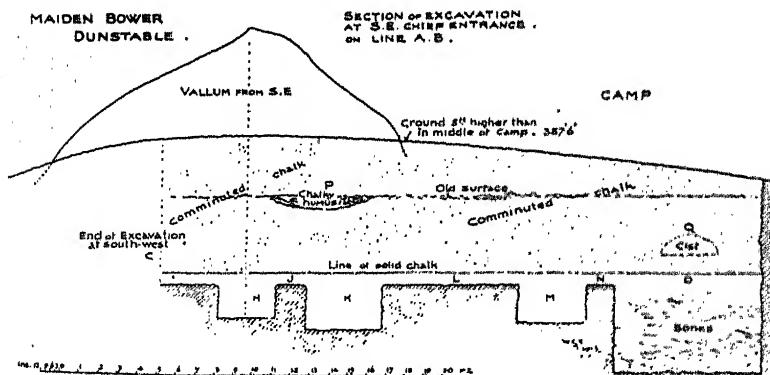


Fig. 6. MAIDEN BOWER : SECTION OF EXCAVATION AT S.E. OF CHIEF ENTRANCE.

passages could be traced upwards to the ancient surface line of the camp.

Nothing special was found in the first three pits and passages or in the earth above. A few very small fragments of Roman pottery came to hand, one a thin piece of a pot, pale brick-red in colour, marked with somewhat peculiar zigzag scratches, a few flints, a few small broken human and non-human bones, and a small number of bulbed flint flakes.

The large oblong pit was complete in itself, and yielded practically all the results of the excavation. It may possibly have been of a different and earlier date than the smaller, circular excavations connected by passages. The upper part produced small pieces of bronze, and numbers of broken human bones and broken skulls and jaws. Mixed with these were broken bones and horn-cores of the Celtic shorthorn ox, horse, sheep or goat, and pig, some carbonized probably in the process of cooking.

The section through this excavation (fig. 6) shows the present and ancient lines of surface and the solid basal line of undisturbed chalk, as well as the four pits and passages. A slight old excavation in the ancient surface will be noticed cut through at P and a small cist at Q.

At a depth of 3 ft. 3 in. and in the centre of the large excavation, a short distance north of the centre of the entry to

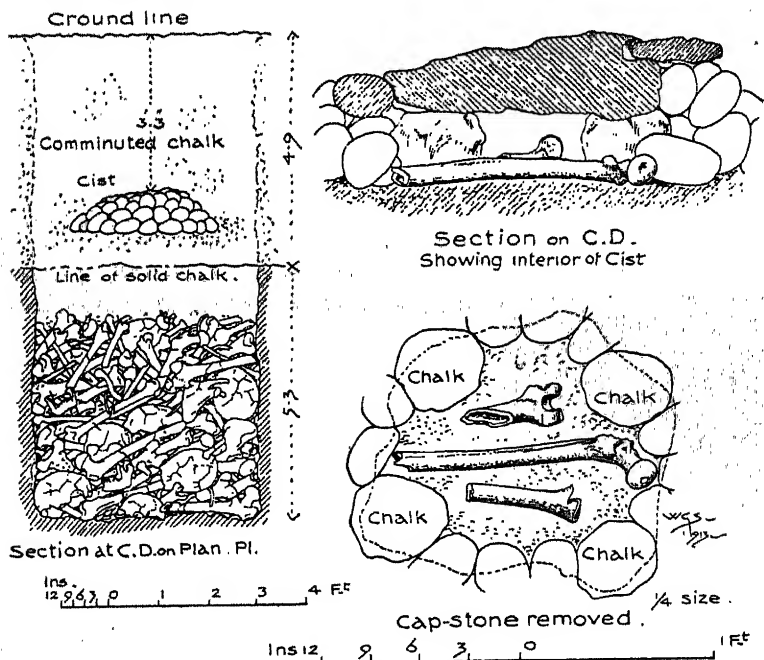


Fig. 7. MAIDEN BOWER: PLAN AND SECTIONS OF SMALL CIST.

the camp, a large horizontally placed piece of hard sandstone was reached. Its diameter was about 1 ft. 6 in. or 1 ft. 7 in.; it was irregular in shape and untrimmed. Whilst still *in situ* it was seen to be surrounded by a great number of large pebbles of flint and quartzite, all carefully placed round the sandstone block. Into one external irregularity of this cover-stone was placed a quartzite pebble as a filling, and into another an oblong piece of ironstone; the whole obviously formed a carefully constructed piece of human work (fig. 7). On the removal of the sandstone it was seen to be supported on four blocks of chalk, and in the open space beneath the cover-stone were three broken human bones, two being the upper and lower portions of different femora and one the upper part of a tibia. A plan,

side view, and section through this structure with all the objects *in situ* is shown in fig. 7. The very cold, wet, and windy weather soon reduced the four chalk blocks to powder. The cover-stone and piece of ironstone have been preserved by Mr. Dan Cook.

The structure closely resembled a miniature dolmen, enclosing, in place of a body, three pieces of human bones. Beneath were many human bones, some burnt black in places (fig. 7), but quite distinct in appearance from ordinary cremation, of which there was no trace. Cases of partial burning are mentioned by Canon Greenwell in *British Barrows*, pp. 29, 30.

The three human bones were possibly meant as substitutes for a human body or bodies. Amongst the objects beneath the cist were a piece of stag antler, broken bones and teeth of the Celtic shorthorn, a few bones and teeth of horse, pig, and sheep, and a few bones of birds, one bone apparently of goose, broken human bones, pieces of human skulls, and numerous human teeth. No trace of dog was seen. Amongst the stones were a piece of broken whetstone of mill-stone grit, two pieces of querns of Andernach lava, a small brown quartzite muller, a block of iron pyrites, and one of basalt, a few pieces of red and buff tiles, thin and thick, one with finger marks. Some largish iron nails were also sorted out and a few small pieces of burnt wood were observed.

The skull-remains, very soft and broken into pieces, chiefly represented youthful persons and those of middle age mixed with a few others of older individuals. All teeth were white and quite free from disease, in contrast with Roman teeth which, in this district, are often badly affected by caries. The number of persons reburied, judging by the upper halves of the femora, was over fifty. All were reinterments, as the broken skulls were always without their jaws, and the broken arms and legs were indiscriminately mixed together. None of the bones was rugose or root-eaten, which would seem to indicate a former deep burial.

Where the original interments were situated and why such a large number of skeletons should have been dug up and carelessly reburied in a deep excavation elsewhere, it is impossible to say. One curious fact came to light: the stone chamber with the three bones was precisely in the middle of the entrance at a short distance from the inner bank of the vallum, and would seem to have been a memorial of the large number of human bones beneath. The date must also remain uncertain, for if the camp was in use when the reinterments took place, one would hardly expect a large grave to be dug close to and almost within the main entrance. The top of the cist was 2 ft. only below the original line of the ancient surface. If the re-

interments were made in later or medieval times one would not expect to find a model of an ancient cist over the grave.

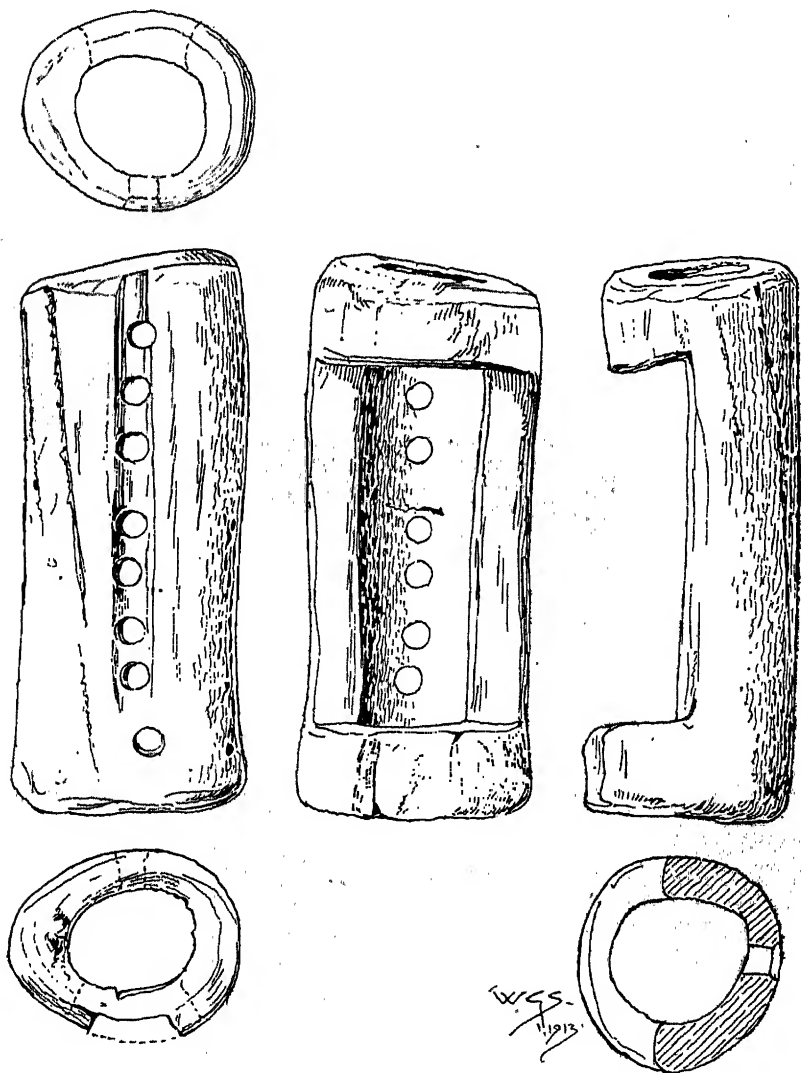


Fig. 8. MAIDEN BOWER : OBJECT MADE FROM BASAL PART OF RED DEER ANTILER : FOUND INSIDE MAIN ENTRANCE (8).

Amongst the bones near the dolmen was found an object of doubtful age and use (fig. 8). It is made from the basal portion

of an antler of red deer. It is hollow and pierced on one side in a longitudinal direction with eight holes, the rude cutting and piercing work being very clear.

NOTE ON THE NAME OF MAIDEN BOWER.

The place-name Maiden Bower occurs five times in the *Annales Monastici*, vol. iii, *Annales Prioratus de Dunstaplia*, in connexion with an ecclesiastic named Johannes de Maydeneburi. The entries are of value as they give thirteenth-century spellings.

- 1252. p. 185. John de Maydeneburi and others received into the Augustinian order.
- 1283. p. 305. Arrears were paid to the proctors, John de Maydenbure and another.
- 1290. p. 365. John de Maydenebure, canon, presented to Bradeburne church (a parish and township in North Derbyshire).
- 1291. p. 371. Only two and a half sacks of good wool at Bradeburne, reported by John de Maydeneburi, who looked after the sheep, which was a great loss to our merchants.
- 1294. p. 391. J(ohn) de Maydebure; presentation to Bradeburne church revoked.

The PRESIDENT referred to the extremely careful work of Mr. Worthington Smith, and recalled his own early explorations of the area in search of flints. The remains found seemed to cover a good deal of history, and in view of the Andernach lava fragment he could not believe the small cist above the bone-pit was of a very great age. The crossing of the two great roads at Dunstable had no obvious connexion with Maiden Bower, and even the Icknield way seemed independent of it. In later British times it was probably not an important centre, though no doubt inhabited.

SIR HERCULES READ said it was usual, in dealing with pre-historic camps, to take refuge in platitudes, as little was known of their date and use in spite of a large literature on the subject. Apart from the lava fragment, one might expect an interment in the principal entrance to be later than the construction of the camp. At High Down, Sussex, a bronze deposit was found by Gen. Pitt-Rivers near the edge of the camp, cutting into the vallum and therefore later than the construction of the camp. There was a growing tendency to assign such camps to the earliest Bronze Age or even to the preceding period. The present discovery of an old type of interment over what was evidently a Roman bone-pit was an interesting problem, and the cairn could clearly not be pre-Roman. In certain cases

partial cremation or toasting of the corpse was considered sufficient, the long bones being carefully collected and interred with due ceremony; but a review of the successive burial rites in Britain gave no clue to the date of the small cairn and dolmen at Maiden Bower.

MR. LYON THOMSON thought the perforated bone object was used for weaving or producing some such articles as halters. He had seen a similar instrument of iron or bone used in making headstalls; and thought if the strands were passed through the holes ropes could be plaited by its means.

MR. DALE compared the bone implement to the weights used for keeping the warp threads taut on a loom, and suggested that the threads were passed singly through the holes and united below.

Thanks were ordered to be returned for these communications and exhibitions.

THURSDAY, 18th MARCH, 1915.

Sir CHARLES HERCULES READ, Knt., LL.D., Vice-President, in the Chair.

The following gifts were announced, and thanks for the same ordered to be returned to the donors:

From E. A. Webb, Esq., F.S.A.:—A short history of the united parishes of St. Anne and St. Agnes, Aldersgate, and of St. John Zachary, London. By William McMurray. 8vo. London, 1914.

From the Author:—An early Georgian table in the church of St. Nicholas, Little Horwood, Bucks. By H. Clifford Smith, F.S.A. 8vo. Aylesbury, 1914.

From the Author:—Busones, a study and a suggestion. By Arthur Betts. 8vo. London, 1915.

From the Author:—Two Worcestershire murders. By J. W. Willis-Bund, F.S.A. 8vo. n.p. n.d.

W. L. HILDBURGH, Esq., M.A., Ph.D., F.S.A., read the following paper on Italian Wafering-Irons of the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries.

In the *Proceedings* of this Society for the year 1913-14 (vol. xxvi, 144) I described and illustrated a series of wafering-irons of Germanic origin, dating from the sixteenth century.

The present paper is concerned with Italian wafering-irons of the same century and of earlier years of the same period of Italian art, and is illustrated by photographs of what I believe to be a fairly representative series of casts from wafer-plates made during that period.

Each pair of these Italian irons consists, like each pair of the Germanic irons I have described, of two plates (circular in all the pairs here illustrated) pivoted together on one side a little beyond their edges, with a long handle projecting from each plate beyond the pivot, so arranged that by bringing the two handles towards each other pressure may be exerted on batter placed between the two plates. Their most interesting feature is, of course, the ornamentation applied to the plates for the purpose of giving an embossed surface to the cakes which are to be produced. The richness and delicacy assumed by this ornamentation during the period of the Renaissance are astonishing to persons to whom these culinary implements are unfamiliar. It is fortunate that ornamented wafers were in fashion during the time which, according to present ideas, was marked by the better taste of that period, and that the art applied to them was worthy of its epoch. It is likewise fortunate that a considerable number of these irons were made at the time, and that the small intrinsic value of their metal has kept them intact, while the grease used for making the cakes has tended to preserve their decorated surfaces.

So far as I know, no systematic effort has hitherto been made to form a representative series of Italian wafering-irons; that is, a collection in which the development of the ornamentation may be studied from its crude beginnings up to its decadence in unison with the general decline in artistic taste. There may be private collections of irons and of casts from irons, other than the one from which most of the material illustrating this paper has been drawn, but I have not learned of them. At a number of museums, however, there are small series of the irons. The Museum attached to the Pinacoteca at Perugia possesses some ten good pairs (including some exceptionally fine ones) for making secular cakes, as well as a couple for making holy wafers, and a series of casts from their own and from other irons. At Milan the Museo Artistico, at the Castello, has some eight complete pairs, and about fifteen plates whose handles and hinges have been removed. Some German museums,¹ and some of the French

¹ I had intended, before preparing my material for publication, to study the specimens in some of the principal German museums; recent circumstances have, unfortunately, put an end to this project. I had also intended, by further work in Umbria, to attempt to fill some of the gaps now obvious in this paper, and to check my theories; this intention I hope to be able to carry out at some future period.

museums, have each a few pairs or detached plates. At South Kensington there are several pairs, some of them especially interesting, and a few detached plates. The British Museum, also, has a few.

The cakes made with these irons are thin and crisp, and are commonly known as *cialde* (wafers) or *cialdoni* (large wafers); the word *cialde* is to be found in some of the inscriptions on the plates. The wafering-irons are commonly called 'irons for making *cialdoni*'; the name *stiacce* is sometimes, though rarely, applied to them.¹ The following recipe for *cialdoni* was given me at Perugia by a very old man, to whom his family always confided their making; it represents a traditional formula, and perhaps one dating back to the period of these irons. 'To make *cialdoni*, mix thoroughly some fine flour (*fiore di farina*), some sugar, and some anise, with a cupful of water, so as to form a rather liquid paste. When the irons have a proper heat, grease them with butter, and then put a spoonful of the batter on one plate and close the irons.' The *cialdoni* are used, I was told, on festivals, at marriages, baptisms, and the like, but especially on 'the Sunday of Carnival', that is, the Sunday just preceding Lent. In connexion with this Lenten custom we may recall that in England, on Mid-Lent Sunday (the Fourth Sunday in Lent), also known as 'Mothering' or 'Refreshment' Sunday, 'it was until recent years a very general custom . . . for servants and others, particularly females, to visit their mothers with a present of wafering-cakes on this day, and this was called "going a mothering"'. This ancient observance still survives in the . . . county of Hants.'²

I have heard from various sources at Perugia, the capital of the province of Umbria, that the art of making *cialdoni* was, up to perhaps the beginning of the sixteenth century or even later, essentially Umbrian, and that it spread from Umbria to Tuscany and other parts of Italy. Most, if not all, of the Italian irons made prior to, say, 1490, which I have been able to study either directly or in casts from their plates, seem to be Umbrian, and I am inclined to connect a series of others of slightly later date, which seem to have been made for members of several Venetian families (cf. *infra*, p. 164), with an Umbrian origin. I have obtained irons of the later types not only in Umbria, but also in Tuscany, Emilia, and Lombardy, going northward, and a few at Rome, and some of these are marked with the arms of families whose seats were elsewhere than in Umbria (cf. *infra*, descrip-

¹ Compare with the words *cialde*, *cialdoni*, and *stiacce*, the words *schiacciare* (or *stiacciare*), 'to squeeze', and *schacciata* (or *stacciata*), 'a thin cake'.

² W. Mouey, in *Proceedings*, xv, 22.

tions of figures). From this I am led to conclude that, in the sixteenth century, either the taste for *cialdoni* had spread from Umbria to other parts of Italy, or that cakes of other kinds, such as, for example, those made at the present time in Switzerland, were made in those other parts. The intermarriage of noble Italian families, no doubt, brought to Umbria the bearers of some of the arms referred to, but, on the other hand, such intermarriages probably spread the taste for the *cialdoni*. My record of cities or towns where I have obtained my specimens seems to support a belief in the spread of that taste during the sixteenth century, but that record should be used merely as corroborative, not as demonstrative, evidence, because the widespread activities of the present-day dealer in antiquities and his collecting-agents tend to impair its value. The dissonance between the two classes of evidence I have mentioned is strikingly illustrated by the fact that, while a number of the irons I have studied show the arms of Venetian families, I have seen very few wafering-irons for sale in the antiquity-shops of Venice.

During the sixteenth century great numbers of wafering-irons must have been in use, especially in Umbria and, I think, in Tuscany. Most of those which have survived from that period have been ornamented, sometimes almost entirely, by means of punches (or 'stamps', as I prefer to call the finer punches), and the reappearance of the impressions from certain of these, due to the tools' lasting qualities, on plates made, sometimes, years apart, together with the general arrangements of the designs, seem to show that not only were practically all the sixteenth-century stamped irons made at or near Perugia in Umbria, no matter where the families using them were located, but also that their manufacture was almost entirely in the hands of one family of artists (cf. *infra*, pp. 172, 173).

The Germanic wafering-irons of the sixteenth century, such as I have previously described, were, I think, derived from the Italian irons of an earlier date. My Italian specimens have, with the exception of a few from Rome, come from cities lying along a great highway into Switzerland, or from a short branch from that highway which, if continued, leads to Verona and thence by another great highway to Tyrol, Germany, and Austria. Travellers returning along these highways to their homes in the Germanic countries would bring with them a recollection of the beautiful wafers they had had on their way, and they might even carry back with them packets of the wafers, just as the travellers of to-day, passing through such noted cake-making centres as Basle, Linz, and Nuremberg, take with them samples of the specialities of those cities. Thus a taste for beautiful wafers (whether made from the same batter as the Italian *cialdoni*

or not is immaterial) would be brought to the Germanic countries, while since Umbria, where the stamped irons seem to have been made, was far from those countries, the somewhat cumbersome implements for making such wafers would naturally be made in the countries themselves, and would therefore partake of local characteristics as to ornamentation. It is worth noting that the process for impressing the plates by means of stamps may have been newly discovered by some sixteenth-century German workman, because in the second half of that century German plates were being ornamented by means of stamps, although the Italian influence which seems to show in the plates of one of my Germanic pairs of irons¹ suggests that possibly the original Germanic (and, I think, German) maker of finely-stamped irons learned his trade in Italy.

Such a large number of Italian wafering-irons dating from the second half of the fifteenth century and nearly the whole of the sixteenth century exists, that we are constrained to seek a reason why few from before that period seem to have survived. Holy wafers, for use in the Mass, were made at a much earlier period with irons of practically the same kind as those used for the *cialdoni*, while other irons, for making large circular cakes, were produced in Early Gothic times. There is a magnificent pair of such irons, ornamented with sacred subjects and inscriptions, in the Cluny Museum, and there are portions of the plates of another pair, boldly engraved with subjects in outline, at the Episcopal Museum at Vich, in Catalonia. Why, with wafers, or, at least, thin cakes made with moulds, so widely known,² did the *cialdoni*, seemingly, not become popular articles of diet until the Italian Renaissance? Was it, perhaps, due to some modification of the food-supply, or to the invention of some particularly tasty cake? Or should we look to political conditions making for a more settled state, or to the general extension of luxury during the Renaissance, together with the introduction of the beautiful stamped irons at a time when the feeling for beauty was in the very air, for the popularization of the *cialdoni* among the class whose material relics tend to be preserved? Or shall we consider that crudely made irons had long been employed, and that the introduction of the beautiful irons of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries caused these to be broken up or re-cut?

These questions are, I think, worthy of a fuller investigation than my present material has enabled me to give them, not merely for their economic interest, but because it seems not unlikely that the development of the Umbrian taste for orna-

¹ *Proceedings*, xxvi, 150, fig. 13.

² Cf., also, foot-note p. 178, *infra*.

mented *cialdoni* indirectly affected the technique and style of some of the greatest goldsmiths of the sixteenth century. The use of punches, of more or less elaborate designs, for stamping heads, human or animal figures, letters, and the like, seems to have been introduced during the latter half of the fifteenth century. Benvenuto Cellini, working during the sixteenth century, speaks (in his *Treatise on Goldsmithing*) of using small steel punches having the forms of heads, hands, and feet of figures, and alphabetical characters, for the making of seals (chap. xiii) and of dies for coins (chap. xiv) and for medals (chap. xv). He refers to the great advantage conferred on himself and his contemporaries, as compared with the makers of similar objects in ancient times, by the employment of such punches, and from the tone of his remarks one may gather that such punches had not long been in use. He speaks also (chap. xiii) of Lautizio¹, a seal-cutter from Perugia, who worked at Rome during Cellini's youth, and with whom (about 1525) Cellini had much to do. Now, we find that in 1516 Lautizio was working in the Mint at Perugia, with 'Cesarino, son, as it seems, of... Francesco di Valeriano Roscetto...'; for some one was instructed not to remove them.² During the tenure in office of Francesco di Valeriano, long mintmaster at Perugia (cf. *infra*, p. 168), the rough punches used at first in ornamenting Umbrian wafering-irons were greatly improved, thanks, I imagine, largely to his efforts; certainly in 1495 (and probably, I think, at a considerably earlier date) he was using very beautiful and delicate punches for impressing the irons he cut. I conclude, therefore, that the improvements made in the punches used for Umbrian wafer-plates enabled punches of a sufficiently fine quality to suit Cellini's taste to be produced. These punches, which seem to have had a considerable influence on the technical qualities of much of Cellini's work and on that of his contemporary medallists, were introduced to his notice by Lautizio, who had learned how to make them either from Francesco di Valeriano or from Cesarino.

The irons still in being were, I think, used chiefly by the wealthier classes, because many of them bear the arms or other marks of the families for whom they were made, while most of the others have a vacant space in which it was intended that such marks of ownership should be put. A pair of irons specially designed, as some were, and cut by an artist must have been costly, while even the finer stamped irons of the kind made,

¹ Lautizio is also mentioned in Cellini's *Memoirs*, chap. v.

² G. B. Vermiglioli, *Della Zecca e delle Monete Perugine*, Perugia, 1816, p. 98.

seemingly, as regular articles of commerce probably cost sums not inconsiderable in their period. So many of the inscriptions (cf., for examples, descriptions of nos. 2 *a*, 25 *b*, 28 *b*, and of nos. G and L pp. 198, 199 *infra*) refer to the lending of the irons that we must conclude that not every kitchen had its own pair, and that borrowing from a neighbour's was a frequent resource. Still, tradesmen had their pairs of irons, sometimes ornamented with the symbols of their trades or crafts in the place of the arms of the higher classes. Nos. 2 *a* and 2 *b* show a pair of casts, from irons at the Victoria and Albert Museum, bearing a hammer and an anvil and the name of the man for whom they were made, one Paul, who, being a man of the working classes, uses no surname. I have seen another fine Umbrian pair of irons of this type, bearing the Christian names of two butchers, the outlines of three domestic animals (two on one plate, one on the other), and the inscription QVAESTA E LARTE NOSTRA BELLA, 'This is our fine vocation.' The inscriptions and designs on this pair suggest that it may possibly have been utilized to make cakes to serve a purpose somewhat like that of the printed advertising leaflets of the present day. At South Kensington there is another pair of irons (nos. 1 *a* and 1 *b*) of the same class, showing on one plate what seems to be an anvil, or, perhaps, a butcher's block, and on the other an ox. Another fine specimen of the kind is shown in no. 5 *b*, where three leather-worker's (? shoemaker's) tools occupy the centre. These tools have been impressed by means of punches, or have been cut as if in a seal, instead of having been merely outlined as in the cases of the other specimens referred to.

Guilds, it seems, sometimes owned irons; I regret, however, that I am unable to show examples of any irons which, so far as I know, were made for or belonged to guilds. An Umbrian artist, who has at various times bought and sold many pairs of irons, has told me that he at one time possessed a pair made for a guild of the Cambio (the money-changers, or bankers).

Many religious communities must have had their own pairs of irons. The pair shown in nos. 28 *a* and 28 *b* was in the possession of the nuns of Monte Luce, near Perugia, at the time the casts were taken. Another pair, seemingly made for the same convent in 1547, is described in connexion with nos. 28 (*a* and *b*).

The finer irons were cut by artists, some of whom were of sufficient standing to be permitted to sign their works in prominent positions. A fine pair of irons (of which there are casts in the Museum at Perugia) has in the outer border of one plate the name of the man for whom they were made, one Oddo 'Orfo' (Goldsmith), and on the other the statement that they had been made by *M. [Maestro] Pietro* and had been engraved

by *Rossiecto Zechieri*¹ (*Zechieri* or *Zecchieri* = 'Mintmaster', or 'minter'; the word is now obsolete). A magnificent pair of irons, cut for one of the Viscontis, whose name and arms it bears, is signed on the handle *ROSSIECTVS AVRIFEX ME FECIT IN PEROSIA A·D· MCCCCLXXXV*.² Another pair of irons signed by this artist is referred to below (p. 198, no. 1'). I have reasons for believing that the irons represented by the plates of nos. 11, 12 (*a* and *b*), and 13 (*a* and *b*), although, so far as I know, not signed, are also from his hand or that of one of his sons.

This *Rossiectus* was Francesco di Valeriano, called *Il Roscetto*, a goldsmith of Foligno, near Perugia, who administered the Mint at Perugia for a considerable time. In 1486 he asked the magistrates to give him a house to live in, pointing out that he had then been engaged for twelve years in carrying on minting at Perugia,³ from which we learn that he had been at Perugia at least since 1474. In 1494 he cut a seal for the magistrates.⁴ If we examine the series of casts shown on nos. 1, 2, and 3, we find a gradual improvement, seemingly beginning a little before 1475, in the quality of the stamps employed. As this point of improvement coincides in date with that of Francesco di Valeriano's employment at the Mint, I am inclined to think that the improvement may have been largely, if not entirely, due to him and to his application to what were probably previously mere rude blacksmiths' punches of an art originally suitable only for his minted pieces. That is, I think it to be not unlikely that he, seeing punches used for impressing wafer-plates, conceived the idea of preparing finer punches, some for wafer-plates, some for seals (such as we know that he cut in 1494), some for dies to be used in minting operations, because the introduction of dies made with punches seems to date from just about this time.

Cesarino and, probably, some other or others of Francesco's sons seem to have cut a number of fine wafering-irons,⁵ but whether any of the signed irons are by them, or not, I do not know.⁶ In 1516 Cesarino was at work in the Mint at Perugia;

¹ For this pair of inscriptions, cf. *infra*, p. 198, No. G. Photographs of the pair of plates are given in Umberto Gnoli's *L'Arte Umbra alla Mostra di Perugia*, Bergamo, 1908, figs. 159, 160.

² A cast from one plate of this pair is shown in no. 10. A description of the pair, together with historical references to it, is given in the *Guida Storica Artistica*, Perugia, pp. 73, 74.

³ Vermiglioli, *op. cit.*, p. 88. From p. 87 we learn that in 1482 the magistrates had given a fresh order, for the conduct of their mint for two years, to 'Il Roscetto'.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 89.

⁵ Cf. Gnoli, *op. cit.*, p. 66; one of the sons there mentioned is Federico.

⁶ The following seems worth quoting here, although, if we regard the cutting of the finer wafer-plates as goldsmiths' work, which it appears to

in 1517 he was still there; and in 1520 he received a fresh engagement for three years.¹ I have seen a plate, dated 1512 (cf. *infra*, p. 198, no. H), which strongly shows the influence of Francesco, although it was probably, I think, cut by one of his sons. The three pairs of exceptionally beautiful irons, dating from 1531 to 1551 (inclusive), shown on fig. 7, seem also to be from a hand carrying on the tradition of Francesco's work, and, in certain respects, improving on it. What connexion, if any, there was between the work of the Roscetto family and that of the family which produced so many of the sixteenth-century stamped wafer-plates, I have not ascertained.

The handles of Italian wafering-irons are most frequently simple rods of more or less circular section, having in many cases a link attached to the end of one handle and slipping over the end of the other, or over a hook near the end, for the purpose of keeping the irons closed when they were not in use. Bronze knobs, of simple forms, were placed on the ends of the handles of some irons; more rarely, a second pair of knobs broke the monotony of the long stretch of the handles. I have seen a pair of irons (dating, I think, from the end of the fifteenth century) whose handles had each an iron swelling about half-way along their length; each of these swellings had the form of a pair of stepped-pyramids, set base to base.

The plates of Italian Renaissance irons are generally circular. I have seen casts from a very few plates (of the late fifteenth century, I think) which were oblong, but their ornamentation was conventional and had no special interest. The plates are generally between 6 in. and 7 in. in diameter. The earlier of the plates I have examined ranged from the unusually small diameter of 5 in. to the equally unusually large one of $7\frac{1}{8}$ in. After the earlier years of the sixteenth century plates of less than 6 in. or more than 7 in. seem to be, to all intents and purposes, lacking. The outer surfaces of the plates, which are exposed to rough usage and to the source of heat, are without decoration. Plates are occasionally to be found which have been fastened to their handles by rivets passing through a strap over a part of the outer surface of the plate. This method of attachment is sometimes resorted to, I have been told, in spite of the injury to the design, when the original leverage of the handles fails to suffice,

have been in origin, and, for a time at least, to have remained, it seems hardly to accord with the matter of my other quotations: 'L'habile orfèvre Cesarino del Roscetto, bien que pérousin, ne fait plus à Pérouse que de l'art italien et déjà international sur le modèle florentin . . . il y a désormais d'excellents orfèvres pérousins; Roscetto, Paolo Vanni, Lauizio. Mais il ne semble pas qu'on puisse reconnaître une orfèvrerie vraiment pérousine.' René Schneider, in *Pérouse*.

¹ Vermiglioli, *op. cit.*, pp. 57, 64, 98.

as well as when a plate has accidentally become separated from its handle.

The ornamentation of the plates was secured by incising, chasing, punching with tools bearing more or less elaborate designs, or by some combination of those methods. The earliest dated pairs of Umbrian irons of which I have heard are those dated 1460 and (?) 1459 (cf. *infra*, pp. 197, 198, nos. A and F), but I do not know, unfortunately, whether their plates do or do not bear punched impressions. In some of the early irons, such as those of nos. 1 (*a* and *b*), 2 (*a* and *b*), 3 (*a* and *b*), 7 (*a* and *b*), and 8 (*a* and *b*), much of the ornamentation has been incised. But certainly about 1475, and possibly somewhat earlier, a few rough punches (or, as I prefer to call them, stamps) were being used in conjunction with the engraving.¹ Towards the end of the fifteenth century the stamps became highly perfected, and as delicate in design and execution as those used for leather book-bindings. As a consequence, families of moderate wealth were enabled, without undue expense, to have irons worthy of their other surroundings.

Irons whose plates were decorated entirely by incision were used during the same period as those decorated by stamping. The two Umbrian pairs of irons shown in nos. 29 (*a* and *b*) and 30 (*a* and *b*) in spite of their coarse workmanship and crude designs, date, I think, from the early sixteenth century. The crudely decorated pair represented by the cast of no. 53, probably of the latter part of the same century, has been ornamented almost entirely by incision, but also by a small circular punch hardly worthy of classification with the stamps commonly used at the period to which I believe it belongs.

During almost the whole of the period in which the delicate stamps were used, the main portion of the decoration—sometimes practically all of it—was produced by means of a series of small impressions disposed in regular, and usually partly re-duplicated, combinations. For persons who could afford them the plates

¹ The wafer-plates seem generally to have been ornamented when cold. The employment of moulds for the ornamental shaping of red-hot iron was skilfully practised in France about A. D. 1200, but for the production of relief on bars, bands, etc., rather than for the decoration of comparatively large and flat surfaces, and the process used at that time has, I think, little or nothing in common with the processes used for the ornamentation of wafer-plates of about the same period. The stamping of leather book-bindings was introduced at a date considerably earlier than that of any stamped wafer-plate I am acquainted with. I think that possibly the considerable technical difficulties in the way of applying a delicate stamped decoration to flat iron plates prevented the production of such decorated plates until a considerable demand for them made the overcoming of these difficulties an end worth striving for.

were, in addition, engraved or chased with more or less elaborate designs, sometimes merely decorative, sometimes based on or representing the family's arms or device. The manufacture of a pair of wafering-irons then became not a matter for the blacksmith who possessed a few coarse punches or had the skill to follow roughly with a sharpened tool the lines of a design upon a smooth plate; it became work for the goldsmith, the seal-cutter, or the maker of dies for coins and medals. Those who have been able to examine a well-preserved pair of irons, made for some wealthy family during this period, must have been struck with the technical perfection of the workmanship. So sharp and neat are the lines, so smooth the surfaces of the hollows, so exact the lettering, that one feels that such implements might almost have been designed for the making of permanent records rather than for the production of fragile delicacies destined for a moment's passing admiration. The preparation of the stamps to be used for such irons was always a matter for a skilled engraver, while the arrangement of their impressions in such a manner as to produce, within the space available, a harmonious and artistic result required a well-trained mind and eye, whether those of the engraver himself or of one of his assistants.

That a great craftsman did not consider the work unworthy of his best efforts and his signature we have already seen. And the performances (such as those shown on fig. 7) of that later artist, whom I suspect to have been a member of Francesco di Valeriano's family, who worked between (at least) 1531 and 1551, show also the hand of a great master.

The styles of the stamped irons followed, in a general way, the secondary variations of style during the Renaissance, and upon dated irons we find that the styles of the central shields and of the stampings accord quite consistently with what we should expect to find, taking as *criteria* other art-productions of the time. An examination, such as I have been able to make, of a considerable number of sixteenth-century wafer-plates shows that many stamps were employed during any selected short period, and that the durability of these stamps has caused, in a certain type of plates, a very definite continuity in the ornamentation. We find, for example, a man's head of a certain form used for two pairs of plates made, as shown by other elements of the ornamentation, several years apart, but, on the other hand, we do not find the same stamp used for plates made, say, fifty years apart, although we may find a modified copy of the earlier stamp used at the later date. This continuity of design is ascribable partly to the fact that a selection from the stamps on hand, and the disposition of those stamps, was seldom or never the same for and in any two pairs of plates, so that

some stamps wore out in less time than others. Partly it was due to the natural tendency of an artist to make a close copy of the stamp for some head, or *putto*, or cornucopia, for example, which he had found to be particularly successful or popular, when the original stamp had become worn out.

Now, this very continuity proves that during the sixteenth century the manufacture of a large proportion of the stamped wafering-irons in use was (if we remember the conditions of labour and the jealous guarding of trade secrets at that time) in all probability in the hands of one family. I regret to say that I am unable to give the name or any of the history of this family, although, for the following reasons, I believe that its workshop was at or near Perugia: (1) Tradition says (and seems in this to be supported by evidence) that the *ciaddoni* were an Umbrian speciality, and consumed much more in Umbria than in the other parts of Italy. Therefore it seems probable that the principal seat of manufacture of wafering-irons (generally somewhat heavy objects) was situated there. (2) There were, until a few years ago, considerable numbers of irons in Umbria which had been made by members of this family; and (3) many examples of their work were made for great Umbrian families, and it seems unlikely that such families would send abroad for irons at a time when they had exceedingly skilful Perugian artists ready to prepare them.

It seems to me quite possible that some of the older and simpler plates shown in the figures were made by members of the family in question, but the earliest examples which, in the present state of my knowledge, I feel can be safely assigned to them are those of nos. 17 (*a* and *b*), 18 (*a* and *b*), 21 (*a* and *b*), 22, and 42 (*a* and *b*). Now, the shields of 21 *a* and 21 *b* bear, respectively, the arms of the Venetian families of Giustiniani and Querini; a pair of irons (in the British Museum) which links, both by its general design and by certain of its impressions, the plate of 18 *b* with that of 21 *a*, bears the arms of the Venetian family of Loredano; the shield of 22 bears the arms of the Trivisani of the Veneto; and the shield of 42 *a* bears the arms of one of the Arigoni of Rome and Treviso (near Venice).¹ Furthermore, we find the Lion of St. Mark as a prominent feature of the decoration of the plates of 17 *a*, 18 *a*, 18 *b*, 22, and 42 *a*, as well as of one of the Loredano plates. Since we do not find these Venetian indications, so far as I know, on the later examples of the family's work, since the evidence I have cited leads me to consider this later work, at least, as Umbrian, and since the style of their earlier irons resembles, I think, that of Florence (about 1500)

¹ The strange salient beast of the arms on 16 *b* may possibly also be Venetian; cf. *infra*, p. 186, note 2.

rather than that of Venice, we must guess that perhaps some Venetian craftsman, settling at Perugia (possibly for work at the Mint) retained some of his old connexions. Or perhaps, several Venetian families, just at this time, acquired in some way a taste for the *cialdoni*, and ordered irons from a man whose productions, later, became, I believe, well known in many parts of Italy. Two minor matters, which may help to throw some light on this question, are that the Giustiniani arms on 21 *a* are rather poorly engraved, as if they had been inserted by some one else than the cutter of the irons on which they occur, and that the complete irons whose plates are represented in 17 (*a* and *b*) and 22 are unusually light, possibly with a view to facilitating their transport. The modern provenance of the specimens figured was in no instance Venice.

In these pairs of plates, dating from about 1500, or a little earlier, we may already perceive types of designs of which some persisted until the third and fourth quarters of the sixteenth century. Thus, the circles with foliage between, which we find in 17 *b*, 18 *a*, 21 *a*, and 22, occur on irons so late as those of figs. 10 and 11, heads, especially, within such circles being a very frequent feature of similar designs up to, at least, 1565; the circles upheld each by a pair of mermaids or mermen, found on the Loredano irons, may be traced through forms such as those of 20 *a*, 32 *a*, and 34, to that of 41 *a*; while the radially-set *putti*, cupids, and vases of 18 *b* may be seen on plates so late as those of 49 *b* and 51 (probably about 1570-80), and, in a modified form, in that of 52 *b*. Not only is the variation of the design progressively continuous in this series of plates, but we may connect, by a step-by-step comparison of the stamped impressions (cf. description of figures, *infra*), the plates of 17 *a* and 17 *b* with those of 49 *a* and *b*, and 50. We may then, I think, safely ascribe to the members of the family in question, working from about 1500 to about 1580, at least the following of the plates shown in the figures:

17 (*a* and *b*), 18 (*a* and *b*), 20 (*a* and *b*), 21 (*a* and *b*), 22, 23, 31 (*a* and *b*), 32 (*a* and *b*), 33, 34, 35 (*a* and *b*), 36, 37, 38 (*a* and *b*), 39, 40, 41 (*a* and *b*), 42 (*a* and *b*), 43 (*a* and *b*), 44 (*a* and *b*), 45, 46 (*a* and *b*), 47, 48, 49 (*a* and *b*), 50, 51. [To these we may certainly add, I believe, 52 (*a* and *b*), by the intermediation of the impressions of a pair (not shown) connecting those of 50 with those of 52 *b*.]

It is instructive to note the progressive degeneration of the later work of the family—the simplification of the stamps employed, the obvious striving after effect without the application of either the skill or the labour required to mask such striving, the elaboration of the central shield—culminating

in such efforts as the plates of 50 and 52 *a*. The interesting deduction to be drawn from this is that the manufacture of the stamped irons ceased at some time about the early part of the last quarter of the sixteenth century, and that the Renaissance forms of such irons did not persist, as we might have expected the durability of the stamps used in their production would have caused them to persist, beyond their proper period.

During the sixteenth century workers other than those of the family referred to made irons with stamped plates. The three pairs shown on fig. 7 are examples of the work of one such artist: the pairs of nos. 27 (*a* and *b*), 28 (*a* and *b*), and 54, are examples of the work of others; and examples, possibly by other artists, are mentioned in connexion with the detailed descriptions of the figures. This being the case, to what shall we ascribe the ascendancy gained by one family, such that we must conclude either that it made most of the stamped irons, over a long period, or that the works of its contemporaries have not survived in quantity? I think that possibly an answer to this question is to be found in the technical excellence of the stamps which that family used, because the number of plates on which certain impressions are to be found is an indication that the stamps whereby these impressions were produced must have had considerable durability. Since the finer stamps required much work for their production, an artist whose stamps were durable must have had a great advantage over one whose stamps wore out quickly. And since a hard cutting-face backed by a tough body conduces to durability, we may guess that possibly the family in question practised a process, probably either of tempering or of case hardening, which enabled its members to make exceptionally durable stamps. [We should note, however, that the artist who cut the irons of fig. 7 must either have had very durable stamps, or must have cut very few irons, for we find impressions of some of the same stamps on the plate of 24 *b* as on that of 25 *a*; and (seemingly) on those of 25 (*a* and *b*) as on those of 26 (*a* and *b*).] Even so accomplished a metal-worker as Cellini found that the alphabetical stamps that he prepared for his seal-making soon became useless, so that, as he says in his *Treatise* (ch. xiii), he was able to exercise his ingenuity often in designing new series of them. Modern processes, used in the making of dies for coins, would have permitted of the manufacture of any number of copies of a stamp, but it is unlikely, I think, that those processes were known to the sixteenth-century workers, because we may often find the impression of a close copy, not of an exact replica, of some favourite stamp which has, seemingly, become unfit for further application.

When the pure Renaissance style was succeeded by the Baroque,

the style of ornamentation of the irons changed, the small and delicately made impressions of the stamps giving place to large and florid designs, drawn, in the Baroque specimens I have seen, rather coarsely. Comparatively few Baroque wafering-irons are to be found in the antiquity shops of Italy, possibly because the dealers find no market for them, but probably, I think, because few of them were made; one sees them seldom even among the stocks of the dealers in second-hand odds and ends. Perhaps the fashion for *cialdoni*, at least among the upper classes, passed away with the Renaissance; in any case, it is certain that, whether because of a change in the fashion or because of political or economic reasons, the Golden Age of the Italian wafering-irons closed with the period which gave it birth.

The typical features of the ornamentation of an Italian wafer-plate are a central design of comparatively small size and several concentric bands of greater or less elaboration, one of the bands being rather deep radially, and another, beyond it and near the edge of the plate, containing conventional markings or an inscription. The concentric bands are a natural result of the formation of the ornamentation with the aid of small stamps, the impressions from each of which are repeated, in most cases, several times. In the earlier irons, such as those of nos. 1 (*a* and *b*), 2 (*a* and *b*), and 7 *a*, where the stamps are small, coarse, and subsidiary to the incising, the tendency towards a broad band is not always marked, and the central design may occupy comparatively a considerable proportion of the plate; the same effect is observable in the plates of 8 (*a* and *b*). But in 4 (*a* and *b*), 5 (*a* and *b*), and 6 (*a* and *b*) we see how, as the stamps improved, it became easier to ornament a large portion of a plate with re-duplicated small parts rather than to cover that portion with one intaglio design, boldly cut in a style and of a size such as would comport with those of the stampings on the remainder. We see how the central design thus naturally became subordinated to the bands of ornament, and especially to one deep band composed of a series of stampings which, as a series, was repeated at intervals round the circumference. In nos. 7 *b*, 8 *b*, and 17 *a* we can see transitional forms; in 17 *b*, 18 (*a* and *b*), and most of the figures thereafter, we can see the typical ornamentation in its normal forms.

If we recall the Germanic irons of the sixteenth century, such as I have described,¹ we may observe that most of them have a central design which occupies all of the plate excepting a narrow border, and is not symmetrically disposed with respect to radii. We have, then, this essential difference between the typical Italian wafer-plate and the typical Germanic—in the Italian plate the

¹ *Proceedings*, xxvi, 144.

portion within the area enclosed by the outermost band is occupied by a broad band surrounding a small and unsymmetrical central design, while in the Germanic plate the portion within that area is treated as the field of a single large design. The way was thus open for the ornamentation of the Germanic irons with representations of scenes or other subjects, not directly connected with the proprietors of the irons, but this occurs comparatively rarely in the case of the Italian irons, excepting in purely decorative and conventional forms. The ornamentation of an Italian wafer-plate with an equivalent of the oft-recurring Imperial arms of the Germanic plates seems to be lacking, due, probably, to differences in the temperaments of the two classes of owners and in the political conditions under which they lived. In only one plate of the twenty-six pictured in my previous paper is there a true approach to the Italian type; that is, in the plate of the Swiss irons shown in fig. 11. The small circle containing the shields, in the plate of fig. 12, has been *inserted* in the large centre, and is not the true central portion of the design. And in fig. 13, in spite of what seems to be a distinct Italian influence, the narrow concentric bands are subsidiary to the central area, and the stampings are arranged as borders to that area, instead of radially as in the Italian examples.

The design at the centre of an Italian wafer-plate is most frequently a shield, often one bearing the arms, the mark, or occasionally the initials of the owner of the irons, or sometimes the arms of his wife. On many plates, however, and especially, I think, on those of the later irons, the central shield has been left blank. These blank shields are possibly to be accounted for by forethought with regard to the inconvenience which might be caused to some future owner by a personal mark not his own, for well-cut irons might reasonably be expected to last through several generations. It may be also that some of the unmarked irons were used for the making of wafers intended for sale to the general public.

The shields are of many different shapes. There are the simple forms with straight or slightly indented tops (nos. 8 *a*, 10, 16 *b*) of the fifteenth century, with their sixteenth-century modifications (nos. 20 *a*, 39, 41 *b*, 32 *a*, 34, 31 *a*, 47, etc.); the infrequent tournament-shaped shields (nos. 3 *b* and 42 *a*) of the fifteenth century; the chamfron-shaped shields (nos. 12 *a*, 12 *b*, 13 *b*, 17 *a*, 17 *b*, 19 *a*, 22, etc.) of about 1500 and (no. 27 *a*) later; the winged or scrolled Renaissance shields (nos. 26 *a*, 33, 35 *a*, 36, 38 *a*, 41 *a*, 43 *b*, 44 *b*, 46 *b*, 49 *a*, etc.) of greater or less elaboration; and, finally, such degenerate forms as those of nos. 50 and 52 *a*, the latter of which is simply an oval surrounded by a meaningless mass of scrolls. It may be noted that, not infre-

quently, one plate of a pair may bear a shield of one type and the other a shield of another (e. g. nos. 16 *a* and 16 *b*, 12 *a* and 12 *b*, and others not shown).

Sometimes the shield has at each side a small human figure, like a supporter. These figures are not true heraldic supporters; they are generally merely stamped *putti* or cupids, used to fill up the central space in the same way that flowers or cornucopias are often used. Sometimes (as in the plates of nos. 20 *a* and 21 *a*) these figures have been impressed with a stamp whose marks occur on the companion plate, but (as in 43 *a*) this is not always the case; sometimes (as in 32 *a*) a curious arrangement of stamped supporting figures appears, one stamp supplying both supporting figures and a part of the general ornamentation as well. On the plate of 17 *a* an angel and a saint (? the Virgin Mary, in an 'Annunciation') appear at the sides of the shield; on another plate (not shown) a pair of birds are similarly placed. The field surrounding the shield is, in some cases (as in nos. 16 *a*, 17 *b*, 18 *a*, 21 *b*, 22, 31 *b*, 32 *b*, and 34), occupied by objects such as cornucopias or flowering branches; sometimes (as in nos. 32 *a* and 32 *b*) the shield rests against a sort of bar; sometimes (as in 31 *a*, 31 *b*, 32 *a*, 32 *b*, and 34) initials or a name appear in the space. In the later plates, where the shield itself has become elaborate, such additions to the central portion of the decoration seem to be absent.

When personal indications of ownership occur on both plates of a pair of irons they sometimes relate only to the owner of the pair, as when his arms are given on one plate and his mark on the other (nos. 42 *a* and 42 *b*), or when his device or name is given on one plate and his mark or arms on the other (nos. 14 *a* and 14 *b*, 17 *a* and 17 *b*, 25 *a* and 25 *b*, 26 *a* and 26 *b*). When we find a shield with arms on each of the plates of a pair the arms are generally, I think, those of a man and his wife, as in the case of the pair of nos. 21 *a* and 21 *b*, representing the Giustiniani and the Querini. Sometimes a pair of names is given, as on the plates of nos. 6 *b* and 6 *a* (representing, I think, a man Ugolino and his wife Fior). Sometimes arms are given on one plate and a joint mark on the other, as in the irons of Nicolo and Paulina Lugli (nos. 27 *a* and 27 *b*).

Other things associated with the owner of a pair of irons were represented on the central portions. On the plates of nos. 1 *a*, 1 *b*, 2 *a*, 2 *b*, 5 *b*, and 25 *b*, for example, the owner's occupation seems to have supplied the motive; on that of 3 *a* a monogram has been used; on 4 *a* and 4 *b* respectively a crown and an initial; on 28 *a* and 28 *b*, for a convent, religious subjects. The fine pair of plates of 24 *a* and 24 *b* bear a resting bull, perhaps representing some family device, and a man's head which is possibly

a portrait. The skull and the mottoes of the plate no. J (*infra*, p. 199) probably were associated in some way with the owner of the irons. The St. Lawrence of no. 54 is, perhaps, to be attributed to an owner whose name was Lorenzo; a heraldic animal is on the companion plate.

On some other plates the objects at the centres seem to be purely decorative and without personal associations. Perhaps the most commonly employed of such objects is what seems to be intended for a holy wafer, a circle containing IHS surmounted by a cross (and sometimes with the Three Nails beneath it), and surrounded by straight or curved rays; examples of this may be seen in nos. 9 *a*, 35 *b*, 38 *b*, 40, 45, 46 *a*, 48, and 51. All but the first of these date, I think, approximately from the second half of the sixteenth century. On the plate of 5 *a* the YHS is shown without rays; so also is the IHS of 29 *a*. Since all the pairs of irons to which I have just referred were evidently for secular employment, we must conclude that the design was probably intended merely as an expression of pious feeling or for service as some sort of a protection against evil influences. Somewhat related in form to the holy wafer design is the 'sun in its splendour' (i. e. shown with a human face and surrounded by rays), such as occurs in 43 *a* and 44 *a*. So, also, is the eight-armed star-like figure, such as occurs in 29 *b* and 52 *b* and, with feather-like arms, in 49 *b*.

On some plates the central portions contain single small stamped impressions; 20 *b* bears a stamped seated figure of Justice that I have seen similarly placed on other plates; 18 *b* bears a Lion of St. Mark found also, together with other mythical creatures, in one of the stamped bands of 18 *a*. A vase of flowers sometimes occurs, as on 15 *b* (and also, in another form, on a plate not illustrated); the jug of 7 *a* seems to be a form of this. The centre of 30 *b* seems to be purely decorative; that of 30 *a* may possibly have some heraldic associations.

The more or less broad band of ornament, surrounding, in most Italian wafer-plates, the central design and extending to the comparatively narrow outermost band, may be homogeneous or may be formed of several separable concentric bands. On the plates shown in nos. 13 *b*, 14 (*a* and *b*), and 15 (*a* and *b*), the band is formed of intersecting straight lines, a design favoured by biscuit-bakers of the present day for the backs of their wafers.¹ Modifica-

¹ "The French word *gaufre*, from which the English form is adapted, means a thin cake marked with a pattern like a honeycomb, a 'wafer', which is etymologically the same word. *Waufre* appears in the phrase *un fer à waufrer*, an iron for baking cakes on (quotation of 1433 in J. B. Roquefort's *Glossaire de la Langue romane*). The word is Teutonic. . . . The 'wafer' was so called from its likeness to a honeycomb, *Wabe*." *Ency. Brit.*, 'Goffer'.

tions of this pattern are to be found in 3 *a*, 27 (*a* and *b*), and 53. Closely related to the same pattern is one formed of intersecting curved lines, as in 12 *a* and 13 *a*. The band may sometimes be formed of coarse stampings, as in 1 (*a* and *b*), 4 (*a* and *b*), 6 (*a* and *b*), and 7 *b*; sometimes of a combination of coarse stampings and lettering, as in 5 (*a* and *b*). During the sixteenth century a very distinct type of band was in fashion, to whose pattern a very large proportion of the bands of the sixteenth-century irons seem to conform; this consisted of a series of delicate stampings arranged with reference to *radial* lines, i. e. with the feet of human or animal figures, the bases of urns or columns, the stems of plants, etc., pointed toward the centre of the plate.

When we examine the bands of purely stamped ornamentation we may at once perceive what an advantage the artist has gained by his set of stamps, for we see that splendidly rich bands, formed of perfectly-modelled minute parts, have sometimes been produced with the aid of a very few stamps. The early stamps were of simple shapes (cf. figs. 1 and 2), such as curved lines, stars, leaves, flowers, acorns, or heads, and were crudely made. Such stamps were, however, as we have noted, seemingly soon followed by exceedingly fine stamps, beautifully designed and beautifully cut, in a great variety of forms—human figures, graceful or grotesque, and human heads; animals; flowers, sprays of leaves, or garlands; vases and columns; and simple conventional markings, such as shells, stars, cord-patterns, and the like—and the wafer-plates were thereafter ornamented with a wealth of detail such as had been impracticable before.

The outermost band of ornament is comparatively narrow, and is designed as a border; it is bounded by lines which generally are either simply incised or are stamped to represent a cord. Between these bounding lines the surface is ornamented with a simple pattern (such as a cord, chequer-work, scrolls, leaves, etc.) or with an inscription.

Of the inscriptions, many seem to have been incised, but there are others (like those of 5 *a*, 5 *b*, 27 *a*, and 27 *b*) which have been impressed with stamps. The inscriptions generally occur in the outer borders of the plates, but occasionally (as in 26 *b*, 42 *b*, 28 *a*, 28 *b*, 5 *a*, and 5 *b*) they have been placed in inner borders immediately surrounding the central areas. They are generally in Italian, but sometimes in Latin, and often have the form of rhymed couplets. They relate to the owner of the irons, or to the artist who cut the design, and in one case, at least, to the smith who forged the irons; sometimes they give the date at which the irons were made; they are Biblical quotations or simple expressions of piety; they give mottoes or maxims, sometimes in praise

of the *cialde*; they offer humorous and relevant advice to those who make the *cialde* or to those to whom the *cialde* are served; and they give favourite verses. I have seen a pair of irons whose inscriptions were said to be verses by Dante.

Before closing this general, but, unfortunately, incomplete review of my subject, I wish to express my thanks to Sir Hercules Read and Mr. G. F. Hill of the British Museum, for their instructive comments and fruitful suggestions, chiefly in connexion with my theories as to the history of the development of ornamentation of the Italian Renaissance wafering-irons.

EXPLANATION OF THE ILLUSTRATIONS.

INTRODUCTORY.

The descriptions given below refer to the casts from wafer-plates illustrated on figs. 1 to 12 inclusive. These casts show the designs which it was intended that the wafers should bear, which designs are, of course, the reverse of those on the irons themselves. I have attempted to arrange the figures in what I believe to be a roughly chronological order, but various factors have interfered with my strict adherence to such an arrangement. In cases where the same numeral has been used for two casts, differentiated by *a* and *b* (e.g. 1 *a* and 1 *b*), it should be understood that the two casts have been taken from one pair of irons; where a numeral has been used without a qualifying letter, the companion cast is not shown.

The casts from which nos. 1 (*a* and *b*), 2 (*a* and *b*), and 3 (*a* and *b*) have been photographed are at the Victoria and Albert Museum, where they are shown with the irons from which they were taken. The casts from which nos. 10, 11, 24 *a*, and 24 *b* have been photographed are at the Museum at Perugia, where the irons of nos. 10 and 11 are also preserved. The casts from which the remaining illustrations have been photographed are from a series, including a considerable number of casts not illustrated herein, prepared as a basis for research concerning the development of the designs and the technical processes involved in the production of Italian wafering-irons of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. This series, including casts from a number of pairs of irons which, I have been given to understand, have never left the possession of members of the families for which they were made, is now available for study at the British Museum.

I have attempted in the descriptions to give approximately the dates at which the irons illustrated were probably made. The dates given, where not those actually recorded on the

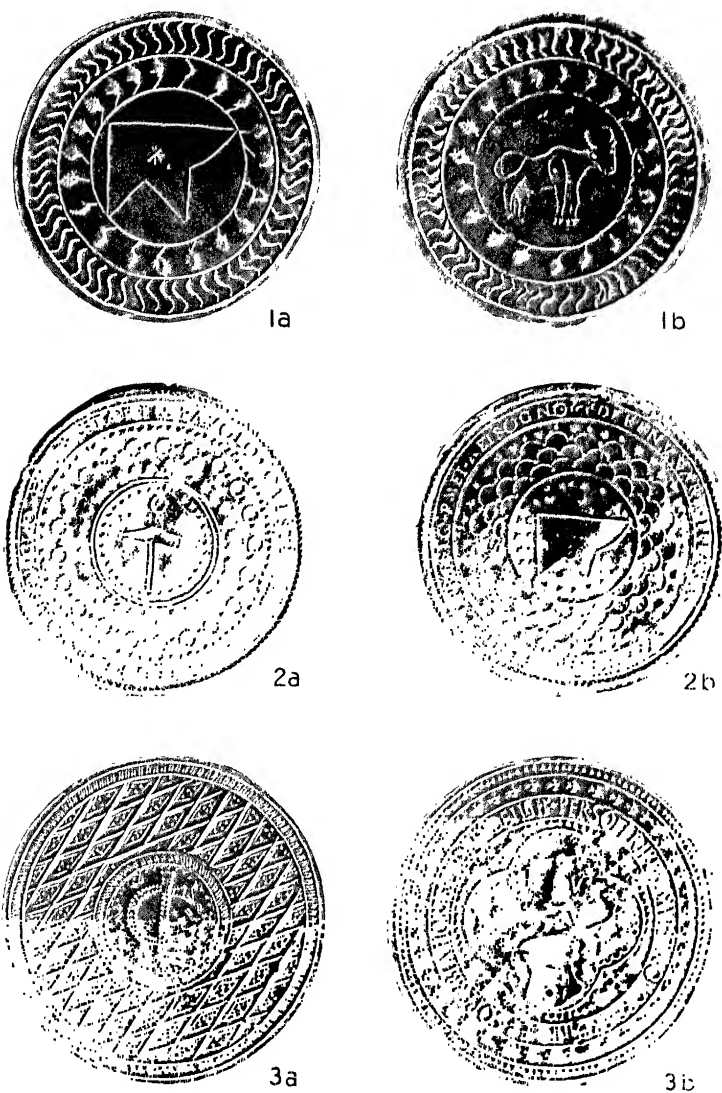


Fig. 1. ITALIAN WAFERING-IRONS

specimens shown, have been derived from dated specimens of similar character, of which, in addition to those here illustrated, there are, fortunately, a number in the Museum at Perugia, and from the forms of the central shields, various details of the decoration, and the general character of the composition. I have not been able to localize the place of manufacture of any of the irons excepting those which I believe to be of Umbrian make. Casts from irons which I obtained in Umbria are marked as Umbrian, because there is at present but little tendency for ancient art objects to come to Umbria; I have also marked as Umbrian casts from irons still, or until recently, in Umbria. Casts from irons decorated by members of the unidentified family to which I have referred (*supra*, pp. 172, 173) have all been marked as 'Umbrian (X)', although not every cast so marked has been taken from irons which I have been able to connect with Umbria excepting by its individual characteristics. In general I have not specified the stamped impressions which link these casts one to another. I have not given the names of large cities, such as Rome or Florence, where I may have obtained a pair described, for, as I have pointed out (*supra*, p. 164), such names are here of no value whatsoever. Where I have been able to do so (unfortunately, in a few cases only) I have given the names and towns of the persons whose arms or marks are on the plates; the difficulty of obtaining identifications has been increased by the lack of indications as to the tinctures of the coats. I am indebted to Mr. A. Van de Put, of the Victoria and Albert Museum, for almost the whole of my heraldic material, and to Mr. Bernard Rackham, of the same museum, for considerable assistance in arriving at the meaning of some of the inscriptions on the plates.

Nos. 1 *a* and 1 *b*. Partly incised, partly impressed by means of a few very crude punches. The S-shaped lines of the border have been formed each by two incisions of a tool with a singly curved edge. In the central portion of one is an ox; in that of the other an anvil (? or a chopping-block). The character of the style is very similar to that of 4 *a* and 4 *b*, but the tools used were ruder than those used for that pair. These plates represent, I think, one of the earliest attempts at stamped work on wafer-plates.

Diam. 6½ in. Umbrian, probably before 1475.

Nos. 2 *a* and 2 *b*. Partly incised, partly impressed by means of a few punches (including a ring with inward projections, a small star, and a [?] scallop-shell). As a hammer is represented on one plate, and an anvil on the other, we may presume that the owner of the irons was a blacksmith. On one plate is an in-

scription: + PAVOLO · QVEST · FERRA · LIAFATEFARE · PSVOBISONGNO · ENO · PPRSTARE, 'Paul had these irons made for his own needs, and not for lending'; on the other is: + DERENVΣARE · IFERRA · IMEVERGOGNO · RENDELI · PRESTO · PMEI · ABISOGNO, 'To renounce the irons I am ashamed; return them quickly, for I have need of them'. The general character of the ornamentation, and the fact that the Museum at Perugia contains casts taken from the pair before it left the district, indicate an Umbrian origin.

Diam. $6\frac{1}{8}$ in. Umbrian, probably before 1475.

Nos. 3*a* and 3*b*. Partly incised, partly impressed with stampings. On one plate, a monogram of C and L formed of small dots, within a field formed of a network of lines containing lightly drawn lozenges bearing each four dots. Within the four-lobed figure on the other plate is a heraldic coat (tournament shield: a block in base, thereon an anvil. Crest, a right arm vested, in pale, holding a hammer, between the initials L and V); round the central portion of this plate is an inscription: PER · SOFERIRE · SAQVISTA · ONORE · EREGNIO · EPSOPERBIA · MORTE · CHONESDENGII, 'Through suffering one gains honour and kingdom, and by pride a death which every one disdains'. I have not been able definitely to connect these plates with any others; they have, however, a sufficient resemblance to early Umbrian plates to be classed with such plates.

Diam. 7 in. Probably Umbrian, second half of fifteenth century.

Nos. 4*a* and 4*b*. Ornamented principally by means of somewhat coarsely and crudely made stamps which have, however, left sharp impressions. On one plate is a crown; on the other a large B, about which are four stampings representing a man's head. (A very similar pair of plates, of Umbrian origin, for which were used some of the stamps used for this pair, has on one plate MB surmounted by a crown, and on the other CI surmounted by a crown. Another pair, represented by casts in the Museum at Perugia, although more ornate, is in style very similar to these two pairs, and bears leaf-shaped impressions seemingly made with stamps used on them; in the central portion of one of these casts is a shield with arms, a crest between the letters F and R, and mantling, and in its outer border is an inscription: + FRANCIESCO * DE * SCIRO * FEFARE * 1475, 'Franciesso de [? son of] Sciro had this made, 1475'; the other cast has a large letter at its centre, and in its outer border: + * AONTA * DELNIMICO * ESCO * DAFANNO *, 'To the shame of the enemy (?) I go out from Fano'.)

Diam. $6\frac{1}{2}$ in. Umbrian, about 1475.

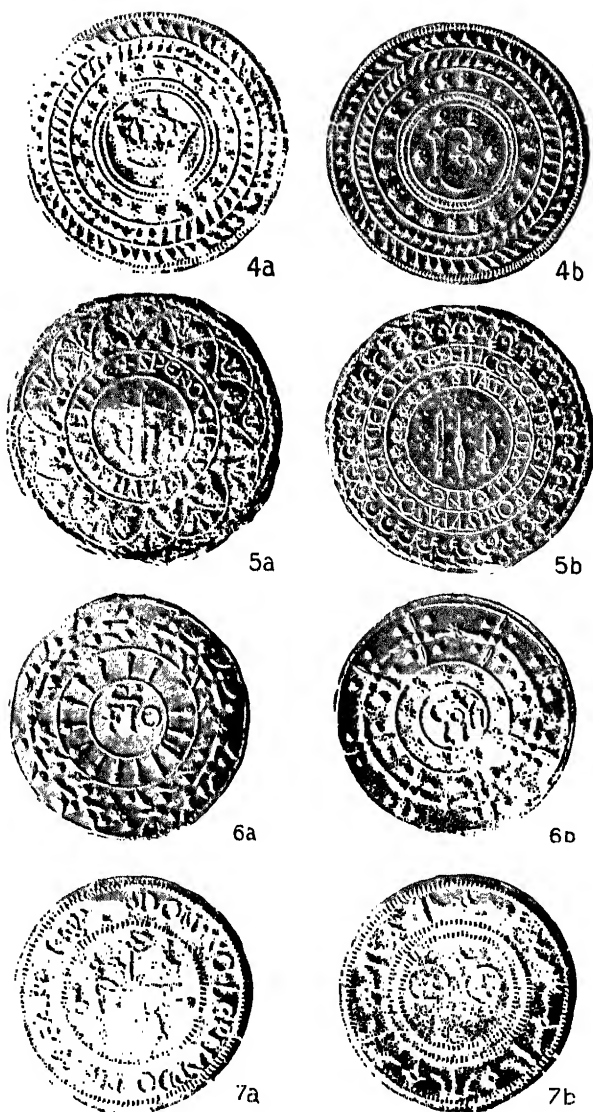


Fig. 2. ITALIAN WAFERING-IRONS

Nos. 5*a* and 5*b*. Ornamented largely with well-arranged, but somewhat coarse, stampings; the inscriptions, as well as the conventional designs, seem to have been made with stamps. In the central portion of one plate is YHS, surmounted by a cross; in that of the other are three implements (seemingly a shoemaker's, or other leather-worker's, tools); in both central portions are small star-like stamped impressions. Round the central portion of one plate is an inscription: + * SPERO * CHE * SIA * LAMIA * SALVLE, 'I hope that it [or He] may be my salvation'; round that of the other, in a double line: FILICE * ECHI * MESVRA * ONISVPASO * ECHI * DELOPERA * SVA * GVARDA * ELLFINE * * * * * , 'Happy is he who measures all his steps and who beholds the end of his labour'.

[In a very similar pair of irons, by the maker of the above pair, one plate has in its central portion the letters G and I surmounted by a patriarchal cross, and bears the inscription: VBELMVRIRE * TVTA * LAVITA * ONORA * , 'A fine death honours the whole life' (a motto found on other household objects of the same period); the central portion of the other plate contains a mount of six cupeaux, surmounted by a tau cross, between the letters G and I, and is surrounded by an inscription like that of 5*b*: FELIC * CHIMESVRA * ONI * SVPASO * CHI * DELOPRA * SVA * GVARDA * ELF INE.]

Diam. 7 in. Umbrian, about (?) 1480.

Nos. 6*a* and 6*b*. Ornamented almost entirely by means of stampings. In the central portion of one plate are letters which seem intended to form the name FIOR ('Flora'); in that of the other, letters which (employing the central O at the end of each of two syllables) seem intended to form the name VGOLINO. We may, I think, assume that these names were those of the owner of the irons and his wife. Three of the stamped impressions of this pair seem to appear also on the pair of 7*a* and 7*b*.

Diam. $5\frac{1}{8}$ in. Umbrian, about 1482.


Nos. 7*a* and 7*b*. Partly incised, partly impressed with a few coarse stamps. The central portion of one plate holds a jug containing flowers, and a b; round this is: + DON * NO * BERNARDO * ME * FE * FARE * 1482, 'Master Bernardo had me made, 1482'. The central portion of the other plate is occupied by an ox's head, and the border by stampings.

Diam. $5\frac{1}{8}$ in. Umbrian, 1482.

Nos. 8*a* and 8*b*. Ornamented almost entirely by incising. On one plate is a very large central shield with arms (a mount of three cupeaux in base, a triple-towered castle poised on the

central mount, with branches issuing from the three towers), and an inscription: ELSERVIRE * MAI * SEPDE * EVNO * PFECTO * AMORE * SEMPRE * E * PIVVERDE ✚, 'Service is never lost, and a perfect love is ever more green'. On the other plate there is a (?) mortar with two pestles, within an elaborate star; the inscription is: RENZO * PACCA * M * CCC * LXXXI * LVCA * PACCA * *, 'Lorenzo Pacca 1481 Luke [?] Lucy (= Lucia) Pacca'. These plates are so similar, in various ways, to those of 9*a* and 9*b* that we may, I think, accept them as Umbrian.

Diam. 6½ in. Probably Umbrian, 1481.

Nos. 9*a* and 9*b*. Ornamented largely by incising; a few stamps, of good quality, have been used. On one plate the large central portion shows a disc, with YHS, surrounded by rays (intended, perhaps, to represent a holy wafer): in the border is: + NELNOME · DEGIESV · SPERO · DALZARME · ESENPRE · ANDARE · INSV, 'In the name of Jesus I hope to arise and always to go above'. On the other plate is a (?) well-head; following a border partly formed of T's is one containing: + MARIOCTO : DA  SO : CHIAMATO · ITESERVO · NO · ESERE · INGRATO, [the occurrence of the (?) well-head at the centre suggests that the small objects are well-heads, *fontane*, making the surname 'Fontaneso' or 'Fontanesso', but I have not identified this name, nor can I connect it with the set of T's] 'Mariocto called Da (?) Fontaneso, I serve thee, be not ungrateful' (the 'I' in this refers, I think, to the pair of irons, and not to their owner). The style of this pair is so similar, both in design and workmanship, to that of 8*a* and 8*b*, that they should, I think, be assigned to the maker of that pair; the finer stampings indicate that this pair is later than that pair.

Diam. 7 in. Umbrian, probably a little later than 1481.

No. 10. Partly incised, partly impressed with the marks of beautiful and highly perfected stamps. On the central shield are the arms of the Visconti. The border contains a long Latin inscription, divided into three parts by small scenes in which animals appear.

[The companion plate has, in its central portion, the arms (shown in grand quarters, two of which are quarterly quartered) of a cardinal, and the name of 'Ascanius Maria Sforzia Viscomes'; round its edge is an unusually long Italian inscription. This remarkable pair of irons is signed on one of its handles; it is described in the *Guida Storica Artistica*, Perugia, pp. 73, 74.]

Umbrian, by Francesco Valeriano, called 'Il Roscetto' (cf. *supra*, p. 168), 1495.

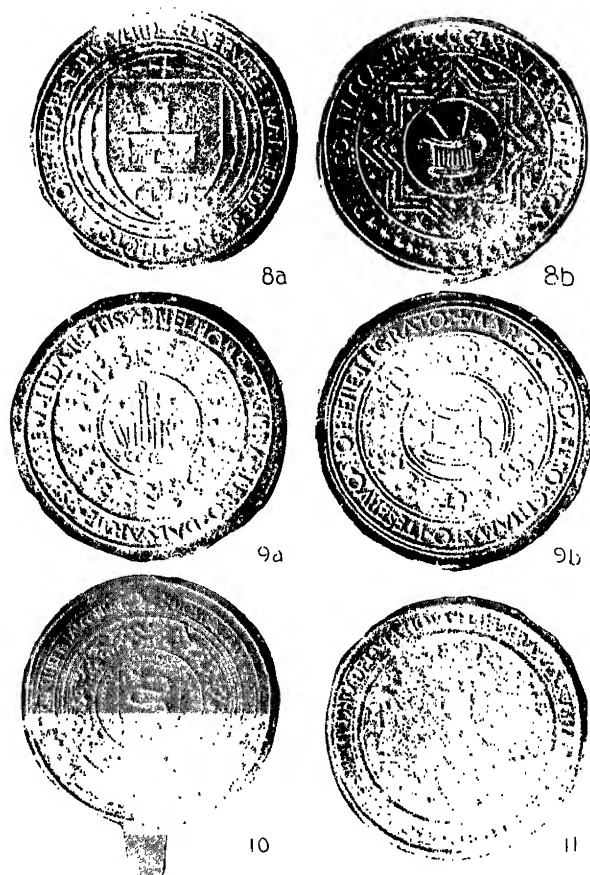


Fig. 3. ITALIAN WAFERING-IRONS

No. 11. Partly incised, partly impressed with the marks of beautiful and highly perfected stamps. The central portion is exceptionally large, and is unusual in having the shield with arms (on a bend, three mounts of six *cupeaux* bendwise) set entirely below the central point. Above the shield is a semi-circular band containing a date, A · D · M · CCCCLXXXXI, above which is an ornamental device containing a B. Round the edge of the plate is: + EIFERRA · COLSEGNAL · ELARME · EIRROVA · SONO · DE · S · BERNARDINO · DELAVIA · NOVA, 'These irons with the marks and the arms, these articles are of Ser Bernardino of the Via Nuova'. I think that this plate is either by 'Il Roscetto' or by some one very closely associated with him, for its shield is practically identical in form with the shield on one of the plates of the pair made by 'Rossicetto' for the goldsmith Oddo (cf. *infra*, p. 198, no. G), as well as with those of nos. 12 *b*, 13 *a*, and 13 *b*, which I believe to be by the same artist. Furthermore, the coiling cords, or tendrils, a very uncommon feature of the designs, are practically identical with those about the shield of 12 *a*. Finally, the date, 1491, agrees closely with that (1495) of the Visconti irons (no. 10).¹

Umbrian, by (?) 'Il Roscetto', 1491.

Nos. 12 *a* and 12 *b*. In the central portion of one is a chamfron-shaped shield, with arms (a mount of five *cupeaux*), upheld by two cupids, together with some coiling cords or tendrils; in the outer border is: + QVISTE * FERRA * COLMONTE * INTENDE * SALDO * SONNO * FACTI * P * BAPTISTE * DERANALDO *, 'These irons with the Mountain [in the arms], understand clearly, are made for Baptiste de [? son of] Ranaldo'. On the central portion of the other is a shield, with arms (a bend, counter-embattled); in the outer border is: + LECIALDE * COLVINO * DOLCE * SONNO * PERFECTE * MA * BEVE * SPESSO * ESPICCERONSE * NECTE **, 'Wafers with sweet wine are perfect, but drink often and they disappear quickly'. These plates (as well as those of 13 *a* and 13 *b*, which are evidently from the same hand) so closely resemble the signed pair (cf. *infra*, no. G) made for Oddo, that I think that they were cut either by 'Il Roscetto' himself or by some one in his atelier. They are not signed, but it may well be that, since they were made for a noble family, the signature (if one existed) was on one of the handles, now missing. (I have not

¹ The *Guida Storica Artistica* calls this plate a work of 'Ser Bernardino of the Via Nuova'; I think that this is a mistake, and that the DE here, as in numerous other inscriptions, signifies 'of', not 'by'.

seen the original irons from which the casts of 13 *a* and 13 *b* were taken, so do not know if the handles were signed or not.)

Diam. $6\frac{1}{8}$ in. Umbrian, by (?) 'Il Roscetto', about 1490.

Nos. 13 *a* and 13 *b*. On one plate, a shield with the arms (a letter A between three roundels) of Giudotti¹; in the outer border: + ECCOCE * NOI * ADONORAVE * PRONTE * * * DAPARTE * DE * SERAGNOLO * DELCONTE * * * , 'Behold us here, ready to do honour to you on the part of Ser Agnolo son of the Count [? or Delconte]'. On the other plate, a shield with arms (a fess between three escallops); in the outer border: + QVANDO * EIFERRI * SON * CALDE * ALORA * SPACCIA * CHELTENPO * FVGGE * E * TVTTA * VIA * TECACCIA, 'When the irons are hot, then hasten, for Time flies and always pursues thee'.

Diam. $6\frac{1}{8}$ in. Umbrian, by (?) 'Il Roscetto', about 1490.

Nos. 14 *a* and 14 *b*. On one plate, a double-tailed lion rampant. On the other plate, a mark composed of a heart-shaped shield bearing a ladder of three steps and surmounted by a double traversed cross; in the narrow outer border, above stampings of garlands connecting vases of flowers, are separated letters forming the name + ASCANII SEVERI.

Diam. $6\frac{3}{4}$ in. Umbrian, probably end of fifteenth century.

Nos. 15 *a* and 15 *b*. On one plate, a vacant shield upheld by two cupids with flowering branches. On the other plate, in the small central circle, a vase of flowers.

Diam. $6\frac{1}{2}$ in. Probably Umbrian, and end of fifteenth century.

Nos. 16 *a* and 16 *b*. On one plate, in the central portion, a shield divided per fess; the broad band of stamped ornament contains an endless stem, forming a four-lobed figure, to which tendrils, leaves, fruits, and flowers are attached, and beyond which are four running animals. On the other plate, in the central portion, a shield with arms (per fess, an animal salient²); the broad band of stamped ornament is composed of leaves and fruit, with four small circles containing, alternately, human heads and flowers.

¹ Cf. *Le Tavolette dipinte di Biccherna e di Gabella . . . in Siena*, by A. Lisini, Siena, 1901.

² Mr. Van de Put has found this strange animal, or one closely resembling it, in the arms of Sigismondo Zanettino, Bishop of Fermo, 1585 (cf. B. di Galeotti, *Trattato degli Huomini illustri di Bologna*, Ferrara, 1590, p. 50); and another, very like it, on a shield, forming part of a Venetian printer's mark of 1492-3 (cf. P. Kristeller, *Die italienischen Buchdrucker- und Verlegerzeichen bis 1525*, Strasburg, 1893).

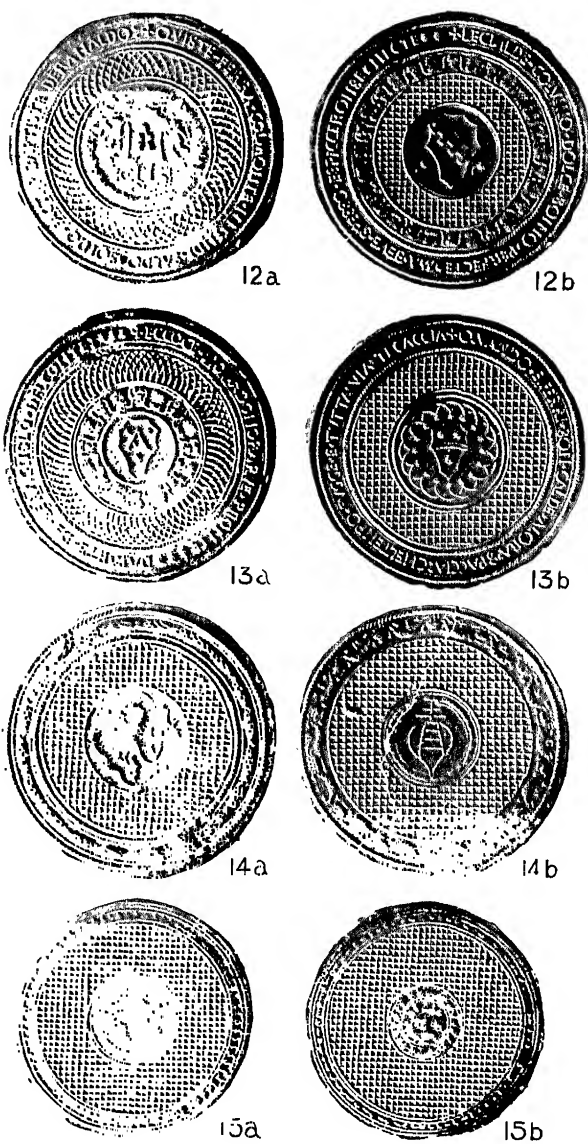


Fig. 4. ITALIAN WAFERING-IRONS

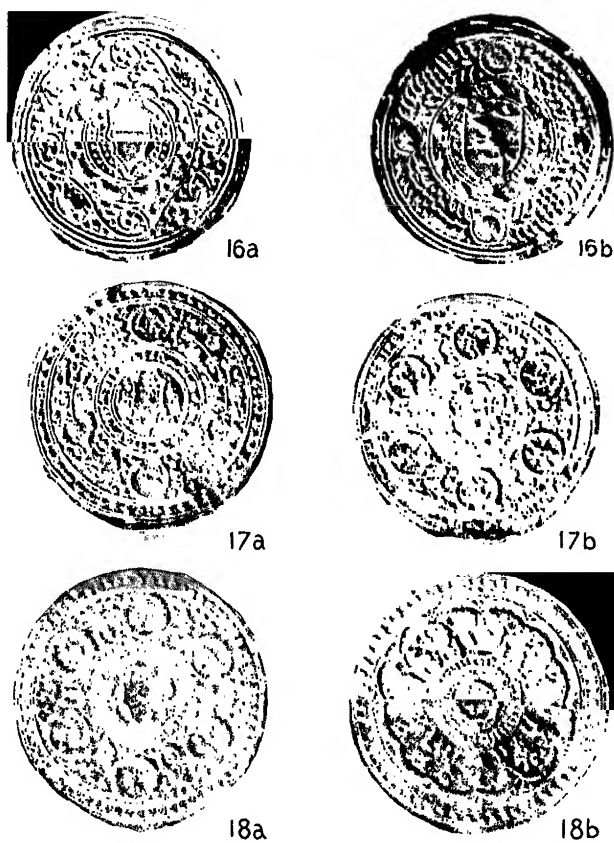


Fig. 5. ITALIAN WAFERING-IRONS

The impressing of this pair of plates has been done with well-made, but rather simple, stamps, the forms of some of which recall those of the stamps used for such plates as those of 4 (*a* and *b*) and 6 (*a* and *b*). The broad band of 16 *b* distinctly resembles in composition that of 6 *b*, and the endless stem of 16 *a* may be related to the endless stems of 4 *a* and 4 *b*. (The four-lobed design of 16 *a* should, also, be compared with that of 3 *b*.) Comparing, further, the plate of 16 *a* with that of 17 *a*, we find certain resemblances in the boldness of the stampings (although those of 17 *a* are treated much more delicately), in the forms of the running animals (occurring on 17 *a* in the central border), and in the curves of the design; we also find the peculiarly treated five-petalled flower of 16 *b* in almost identical form on 17 *a*; finally, we find the diameters of 16 *a* and 17 *a* almost identical. I am led, in consequence of these various resemblances, to regard the present pair of plates as of a form intermediate between the forms of 4 (*a* and *b*) and 17 (*a* and *b*), and to conclude that, even if the three pairs of plates do not mark stages in the advance of a single master or atelier, they do form a series illustrating the advance of a certain definite type of craftsmanship. I believe that series to be of importance, for its components seem to link together the rude work of the early stamped plates with the finished technique of that unidentified family of makers of wafering-irons of whose products we shall hereafter see many examples.

Diam. 5½ in. Probably Umbrian, and end of fifteenth century.

Nos. 17 *a* and 17 *b*. On one plate, in central portion, a shield, bearing an elaborate mark, between two figures (? representing the Annunciation); round this is a narrow band containing small hares and greyhounds, running in alternation, and a (?) hedgehog; in the broad band, one of the small circles contains a stamped Lion of St. Mark, and the other a reclining ass. On the other plate, the shield bears the name ILIONE; the broad band is composed of wreaths, containing figures of cupids and of *putti*, and of flowers on some of which birds are perched; the narrow outer border contains: MEMORIA DEL TEMPO PASATO E PROVIDENTIA DE QUELO CHE AVENIRE NOTA, 'Mark the memory of the time which is past, and the prevision [? provision] of that which is to come', between the words of which are small stampings of birds.

This exceptionally richly ornamented pair of irons has a number of unusual features, among which the following may be noted: the division of the decoration of 17 *a* into only *two* symmetrical parts; the curious pair of figures in the central portion of 17 *a*; the employment of the curious small figure of

the ass on 17 *a*; the birds on the flowers of 17 *b*; the separation of the words of the inscription by birds instead of by dots, stars, or scallop-shells; the very light weight of the plates and the handles; and the ornamentation of the handles, at their ends and at points about mid-length, by brass knobs. In the ornamentation of this pair we find, well developed, a type of design which persisted until a considerably later period (for its probable precursors, cf. 16 *a* and 16 *b*; for an immediate successor, cf. 22).

Diam. 5½ in. Umbrian (X),¹ about 1500.

Nos. 18 *a* and 18 *b*. On one plate, the wreaths contain mythical animals, a Lion of St. Mark, and a figure of a man riding a panther; the masses of flowers between the wreaths hold, alternately, a bird and a reclining bull (? or ass) [neither the Lion, the bird, nor the reclining animal have been impressed with the stamps used for 17 (*a* and *b*)]. On 18 *b*, in the central portion, is the stamped Lion of 18 *a*; the broad band of ornament is composed of cupids, *putti*, vases, etc., in a style which seems to have continued, with but slight changes, up to the end of the manufacture of the stamped irons. Some of the stamped impressions on these plates seem to connect them directly with the makers of the plates of 42 *a* and 21 *b*.

Diam. 6 in. Umbrian (X), about 1500.

Nos. 19 *a* and 19 *b*. In the central portion of each plate is a shield with arms (a dog passant palewise in pale). On one plate the broad band is composed of simple leaves, flowers, and fruits, with four circles containing human heads (all of one form). On the other plate are small circles, tangent to each other, to which leaves, flowers, and fruits are attached; these circles contain, alternately, a five-petalled flower and either a human head or a bird. These plates, which are of unusually small size, somewhat resemble those of 16 (*a* and *b*), but not sufficiently to enable us to ascribe both pairs to the same maker. They seem not to be a direct development from any more primitive work I have encountered, and therefore may possibly, I think, represent an early effort of some new-comer among the makers of wafer-plates.

Diam. 5 in. Umbrian, probably end of fifteenth century.

Nos. 20 *a* and 20 *b*. On one plate, in the central portion, a shield, with arms (per fess on a roundel a cross), with two small *putti* playing each a musical instrument (these are impressed also on 20 *b*); in the broad band are pairs of mermaids holding circles containing human heads and (in one) a winged horse, with a

¹ Cf. pp. 181 and 172.

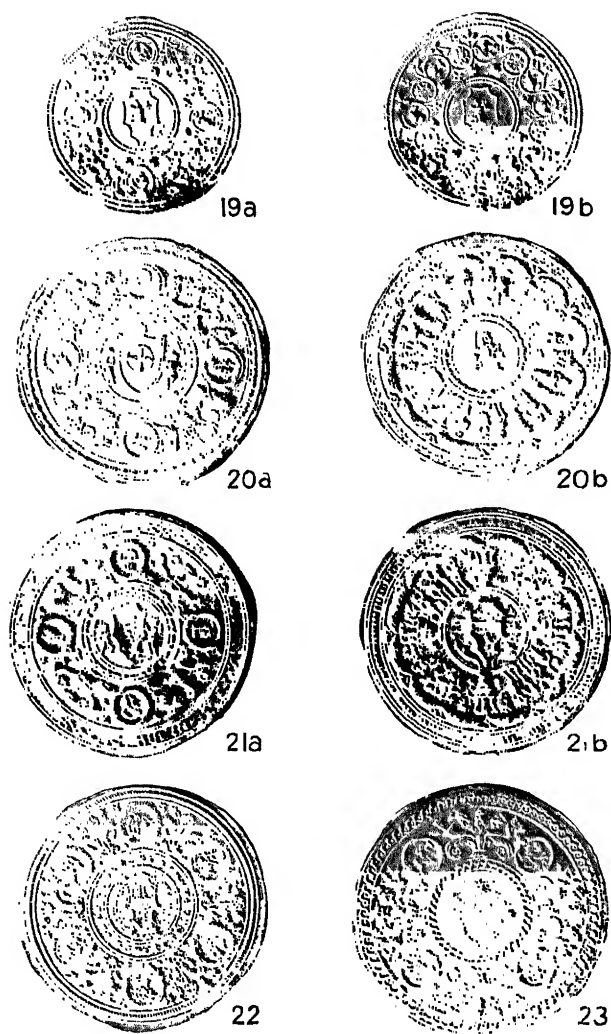


Fig. 6. ITALIAN WAFERING-IRONS

five-petalled flower within the curl of each mermaid's tail and a mask above each pair of tails. On the other plate, in the central portion, a seated figure of Justice (also to be found stamped, in a similar position, on other plates [not shown]); the broad band contains figures of *putti*, a clothed boy, girls dancing, columns, and vases.

[On a very similar pair of plates (not shown), some of the impressions on which directly connect 20 (*a* and *b*) and 21 (*a* and *b*), the place of the mermaids is occupied by dolphins, a chamfron-shaped shield has a bird (instead of a *putto*) on each side of it, and a clothed woman occurs among the standing figures. On a pair of irons at the British Museum, bearing the arms of Loredano of Venice, appear pairs of mermaids (not quite the same as those of 20 *a*, and seemingly of a slightly earlier type) holding circles with heads; these irons, both by their general design and their stamped impressions, link 18 *b* with 21 *a*. The pairs of mermaids holding circles appear, in several metamorphoses, on various sixteenth-century plates of dates later than that of 20 (*a* and *b*).]

Diam. $5\frac{3}{4}$ in. Umbrian (X), probably first quarter of sixteenth century.

Nos. 21 *a* and 21 *b*. The heraldic markings of these plates show that they were made for members of two Venetian families, the Giustiniani (a double-headed eagle, charged with an escutcheon bearing a fess) and the Querini (on a chief, three stars), between which there occurred several matrimonial alliances about the time the plates were made.¹ The comparatively inferior engraving of the arms on 21 *a* suggests that those arms were cut, not by the cutter of the decoration, but by some other (perhaps Venetian) craftsman.

Diam. $5\frac{3}{4}$ in. Umbrian (X), about 1500.

No. 22. On the central shield are the arms (paly of six, a fess) of the Trivisani, of the Veneto. This plate is one of the links between the plates of 17 (*a* and *b*) and others, produced later, by the family of whose work we have had and will have numerous examples; it not only closely resembles 17 *a* and 17 *b* in its style, but it also bears impressions of at least three of the more important stamps used for those plates; furthermore, the handles of the pair to which it belongs have, like those of 17 (*a* and *b*), brass knobs at the ends.

Diam. 6 in. Umbrian (X), about 1500.

No. 23. This plate is of much later date than those preceding it; it belongs to the period of the irons shown on fig. 10, and

¹ Cf. Litta, *Famiglie Celebri Italiane*, vol. vi.

its stampings include some found on the irons of that plate. Placed here, it shows the persistence of the type of decoration initiated about 1500. Among its interesting features are the central shield (an elaboration of an early type), the chain-like border of the central portion, a griffin and a horseman (of rather early style) in the small circles, the masks in which the foliage terminates, and the profile heads issuing from cornucopias.

[A similar plate (not shown) has the same griffin and horseman, within circles of chain-like construction, and a peculiar central shield (based on an outline having a horizontal top, two vertical sides, and a broad V-shaped bottom); in this the foliage terminates in flowers.]

Diam. 6 $\frac{3}{4}$ in. Umbrian, middle of sixteenth century.

Nos. 24 *a* and 24 *b*. On one plate, in the central portion, is a reclining bull holding a palm-branch; in the outer border is: +QVISTE · FERRA · SONNO · DE · SEMONE · DE · ANTONIO · DA · PARNACIANO · FATTE · NEL · MDXXXI, 'These irons are of Semone [? son] of Antonio da Parnaciano; made in 1531'. On the other plate are a man's head, so perfectly executed that it seems as if it might be a portrait, and: +MANGIATE · DELE · CIALDE · EPOI · BEVETE · CHE · PIGLIARITE · LORSO · SENSA · RETE○○○○, 'Eat of the wafers and then drink, that you may take the bear without a net'. ('This expression, which appears not to be known at present, at Perugia, as a maxim, seems to signify 'that you will feel fit for anything'.) I believe that these plates (to which unfortunately the photograph has not done justice) are examples of the very highest achievements in the art of cutting wafering-irons; it is evident that they are from the same hand as 25 (*a* and *b*) and 26 (*a* and *b*).

Umbrian, 1531.

Nos. 25 *a* and 25 *b*. On one plate, in the central portion, is a merchant's mark; in the outer border is: +AME · CHE · FO · LECIALDE · EBEN · DEVERE · CHE · QVALCHE · VOLIA · MEDIATE · DABERE · 1539, 'To me that makes the wafers it is a duty to give me to drink whatever I wish, 1539'. (I take this allusion to drink to refer to the liquid batter for the irons, not to potatoes for their use; analogous examples of the personification of the irons seem to occur on 9 *b* and 13 *a*.) On the other plate, in the central portion, a shield (formed of an oval with projections) on which is a cap; in the outer border is: +BIAGIO · BERRETTAIO · LIAFATTEFARE · PER · SVO · BISOGNIE · ENON · PER · INPRESTARE, 'Biagio Berrettaio [= Capmaker] has had them made for his own needs and not

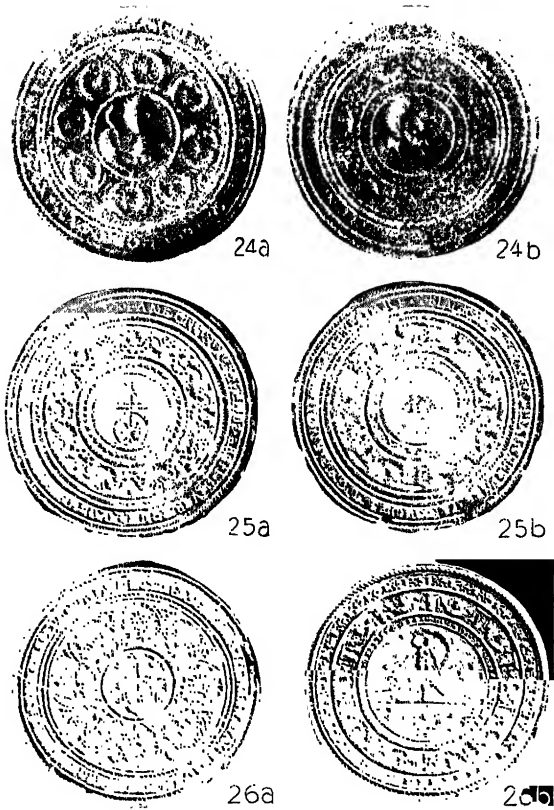


Fig. 7. ITALIAN WAFERING-IRONS

for lending'. Some of the impressions on 25 *a* have been made with stamps used for 24 *b*.

Diam. $6\frac{3}{4}$ in. Umbrian, 1539.

Nos. 26 *a* and 26 *b*. On one plate, in the central portion, a shield with a merchant's mark (including the letters $\frac{F}{G}$); in four of the wreaths of the broad band are the parts of a date, XIII D | FEB | MDLI | 'ADI (= 14th February, 1551); in the outer border is: + SENSА * FAVOR * NE * RÖBBA * AVIR * DAIMEI * [?] DEQVEL * CHIO * TENGO * LO * P * GRATA * DI, (?) 'Without favour nothing is to be had of me of that which I hold by the Grace of God'. On the other plate, in the central portion, is an elaborate design including a galley (evidently the device of Galea), with an inscription in small characters bordering that portion: + D'L * GALEA * PRIMO * FABRITIO * NEPOTE * LARME * CO * IL * SEGNO * QVESTЕ * NOTE, (?) 'These tokens are the arms and the device of Fabritio, first nephew of Galea'.¹ Some of the stampings on this pair of plates resemble very closely, and may even be identical in form with, some of those on 25 (*a* and *b*).

The extraordinarily high quality of the stamps used to impress 24 (*a* and *b*), 25 (*a* and *b*), and 26 (*a* and *b*), and the beauty of the designs on the plates, show that these three pairs of irons were cut by a notable artist; the resemblances between their style and technique and those of the plates of figs. 10 and 11 leads me to think that that artist was a member of the family of Francesco di Valeriano, 'Il Roscetto' (cf. *supra*, p. 168).

Diam. $6\frac{1}{2}$ in. Umbrian, 1551.

Nos. 27 *a* and 27 *b*. On one plate, a shield with arms (a hand grasping a baton in pale), and an inscription: NICOLO E PAVLINA LVGLI, 'Nicolo and Paulina Lugli'. On the other plate, a merchant's mark (including the letters N, P, and L), and the same inscription as on the first. The lettering has been done with stamps, and the letter C (of Nicolo) on 27 *b* has been impressed twice, the first impression having been wrongly placed; the misplaced impression is very distinct, although by no means so strong as the correct impression.

Diam. $6\frac{1}{2}$ in. Early sixteenth century.

Nos. 28 *a* and 28 *b*. On one plate, the Lamb of God, with ECCE AGNVS DEI, 'Behold the Lamb of God'. On the other

¹ The meaning of this inscription is not entirely clear to me, but, taking into account the $\frac{F}{G}$ of the companion plate, I believe it to be somewhat as given.

plate, IHS surmounted by a cross, and MONTELVCE. This pair of irons was made for, and preserved at, the Convent of Monteluca (a community of Poor Clares), near Perugia.

[Casts from another pair of irons, seemingly made for the same convent, are in the Museum at Perugia. On one plate, in the central portion, are the canting arms of Monteluca (a mount of three cupeaux below a sun in its splendour); surrounding this is a broad band formed of straight lines crossing at right angles; in the outer border is: + EBVON · PRESTARE · IFERRE · ACHI · LI · RENDI · TV · CHE · GLI · HAVESTI · HORA · IL · MIO · DETTO · INTENDI, 'It is good to lend the irons to him who returns them; thou that hast them now understandest my maxim'. On the other plate, the central portion is occupied by IHS, surmounted by a cross, above the Three Nails of the Crucifixion; round this is a broad band like that of the first plate; in the outer border is: + SICT · NOMEN · DÑI · BENE-DICTO · CQVESTI · FERRI · SI · SONNO · DIMONTE · LVCE · FVRO · FACTTE · M.D. 47, 'May the Name of the Lord be blessed. These irons they are of Monteluca; (they) were made 1547'.]

Diam. 6 $\frac{3}{4}$ in. Umbrian, sixteenth century.

Nos. 29 *a* and 29 *b*. The ornamentation of these plates is very crude; it has been produced entirely without the use of stamps. The plates are, I think, of about the same date as the next pair.

Diam. 6 $\frac{1}{2}$ in. Umbrian, (?) early sixteenth century.

Nos. 30 *a* and 30 *b*. The rather crude ornamentation of these plates has been produced entirely without the use of stamps. In respect to the style of their workmanship the plates are very similar to a pair, dated 1515, casts from which are in the Museum at Perugia.

Diam. 6 in. Umbrian, (?) early sixteenth century.

Nos. 31 *a* and 31 *b*. On one plate, in the central portion, a shield, with arms (upon a mount of three cupeaux, a castle with a central tower), flanked by a pair of *putti*, with two pairs of letters (P and H, and P and L). On the other plate, in the central portion, a shield with arms (a lion rampant) of a member of the powerful Oddi family,¹ of Perugia, and the names GI SM ODDI.

Diam. 6 $\frac{1}{4}$ in. Umbrian (X), (?) second quarter of sixteenth century.

¹ For some accounts of this family, and of its part in the history of Perugia in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, see *Chronicles of the City of Perugia* (1492-1503), translated by E. S. Morgan from the Italian of F. Matarazzo, and L. de Baglion's *Pérouse et les Baglioni*.



27a



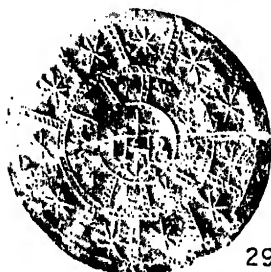
27b



28a



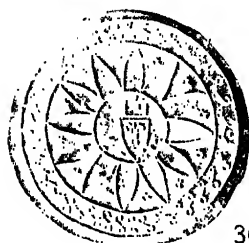
28b



29a



29b



30a



30b

Fig. 8. ITALIAN WAFERING-IRONS

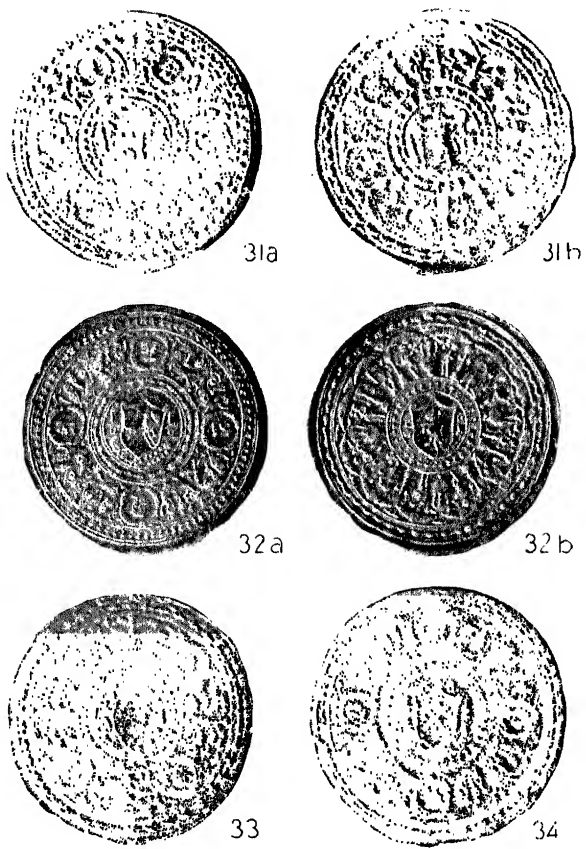


Fig. 9. ITALIAN WAFERING-IRONS

Nos. 32 *a* and 32 *b*. On one plate, in the central portion, a shield, with arms (a chevron, in chief two cocks affronted), set across a horizontal band (bearing the letters B and B) on which stand two small *putti* (occurring also, above the backs of the mermaids, in the broad band of this plate). On the other plate, in the central portion, a shield, with arms (a bull salient with a mullet between his horns¹), across a horizontal band (bearing the letters P and B).

[On a plate (not shown), almost identical in design with that of 32 *a*, the arms on the shield are: a tower between the initials A and Z, on a chief three fleurs-de-lis. In Mr. W. Crewdson's collection is a pair of irons, impressed with the same stamps as 32 (*a* and *b*), one of whose plates has a shield with arms quarterly; on the companion plate the central portion is occupied by the Justice of 20 *b*.²]

Diam. 6 in. Umbrian (X), (?) second quarter of sixteenth century.

No. 33. The very elaborate central shield is noteworthy. The broadly-branching plants between the small circles may be found on various plates of the same period. The companion plate (not shown) has a 'holy wafer' design in its central portion.

[A plate similar to 33 has small lozenges surrounding the human heads, instead of the usual small circles; its central shield resembles that of 23, but is more elongated, and has a flowery projection from each side.]

Diam. 6 in. Umbrian (X), (?) third quarter of sixteenth century.

No. 34. This plate has the general characteristics of 32 *a*, but the mermaids have been replaced by sphinx-like hatted figures, above the back of each of which remains the small *putto* musician of 32 *a*. The central shield bears a saltire between four fleurs-de-lis³; above the shield are the letters F and B. The flanking *putti* of 32 *a* are here replaced by a pair of vases.

Diam. 6 $\frac{3}{8}$ in. Umbrian (X), (?) second quarter of sixteenth century.

Nos. 35 *a* and 35 *b*. The employment of a single variety of flower, in the place of heads or figures, on 35 *a* is very unusual. The arrangement of the heads on 35 *b* is uncommon; it may be compared with that of 45 (which bears some of the impressions borne by this pair). In each of three niches in the outline of the shield on 35 *a* is a tiny impression of a boy's head.

Diam. 6 $\frac{1}{4}$ in. Umbrian (X), middle of sixteenth century.

¹ Arms of Fondi (?); cf. Lisini, *op. cit.*

² Mr. Crewdson has since presented this pair of irons to the Society (see p. 261, below).

³ A branch of the Bindi bore a saltire between four roses (instead of the lilies of the present coat); cf. Lisini, *op. cit.*

No. 36. The impressions of birds, occupying the small circles, are somewhat uncommon on plates of this type.

[On a similar plate (not shown) of the same period, the small circles are occupied, some by birds, some by mythical animals.]

Diam. $6\frac{1}{2}$ in. Umbrian (X), middle of sixteenth century.

No. 37. The central shield is exceptionally elaborate. In the small circles are two differing men's heads (of a rather horizontally-compressed and archaic type) and a double-tailed siren.

Diam. $6\frac{1}{2}$ in. Umbrian (X), middle of sixteenth century.

Nos. 38 *a* and 38 *b*. On one plate, the elaborate shield bears the initials $\begin{smallmatrix} GT \\ C \end{smallmatrix}$; the vases of flowers have each a pair of small lions in the positions of supporters. An exceptional feature of the other plate is a ground filled with the marks of a small pointed punch. In these plates a clever, but not uncommon, use is made of two stamps, one being used to impress the outer border of one plate and the inner border of the other, and the other, in the opposite sense, for the two remaining borders.

[On a plate (not shown) similar to 38 *a*, each of six vases is flanked by a pair of lions smaller than those of 38 *a*.]

Diam. $6\frac{1}{2}$ in. Umbrian (X), middle of sixteenth century.

No. 39. On the central shield are arms (an escutcheon[?] with a fess, charged upon the breast of a double-headed eagle) of (?) one of the Giustiniani; in the outer border is: + IOHANNES. CITTADINVS · IVSCONSVL ·, 'Johannes Cittadinus, lawyer'.

[Of a pair of casts in the Museum at Perugia, one closely resembles 39; the casts are of the general type of 38 (*a* and *b*), and bear some of the same stampings as 35 *b* and 37. On the central portion of each is a shield with arms. The outer border of one contains: PETRVS · GENTILIS · PETRI · F · DE · TRANQVILLIS · MDLXIIII, 'Peter Gentilis, son of Peter de Tranquillis, 1564'. That of the other contains a canting motto: + TRANQVILLITATE · ET · CONCORDIA · DOMESTICAE · RES · CRESCVNT, 'By tranquillity and concord domestic affairs prosper'.]

Diam. $6\frac{1}{2}$ in. Umbrian (X), about 1565.

No. 40. On this plate each of four of the human (or human-like) figures commonly present has been replaced by a bull rampant, beneath a trefoil arch.

Diam. $6\frac{1}{2}$ in. Umbrian (X), (?) third quarter of sixteenth century.

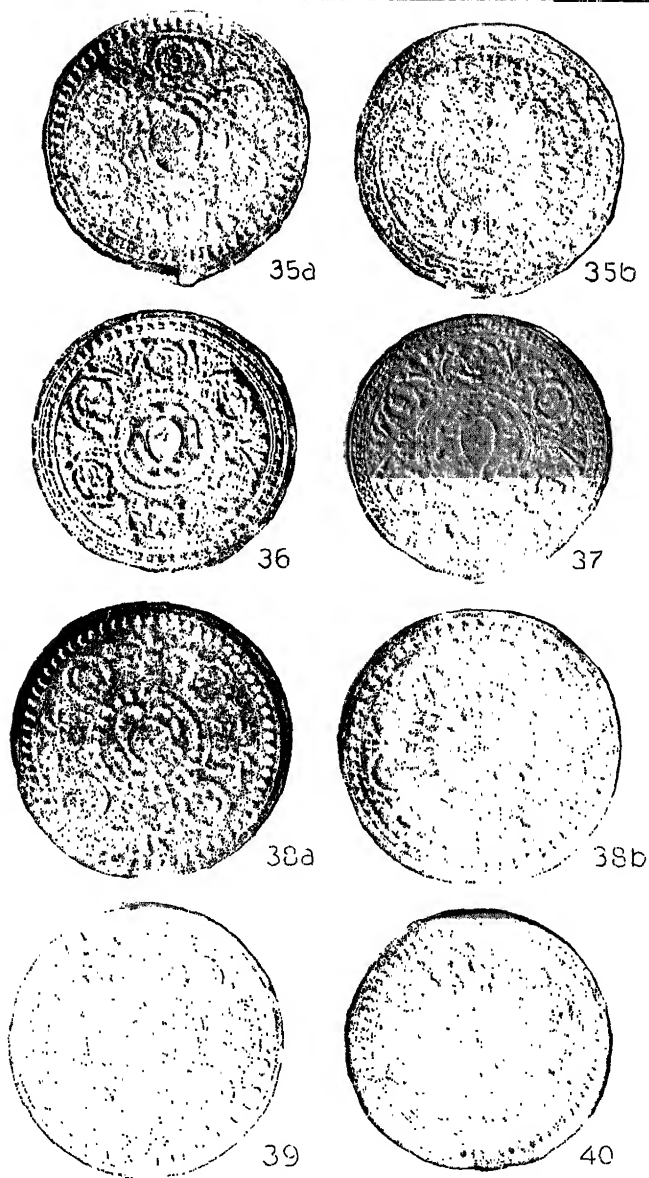


Fig. 10. ITALIAN WAFERING-IRONS

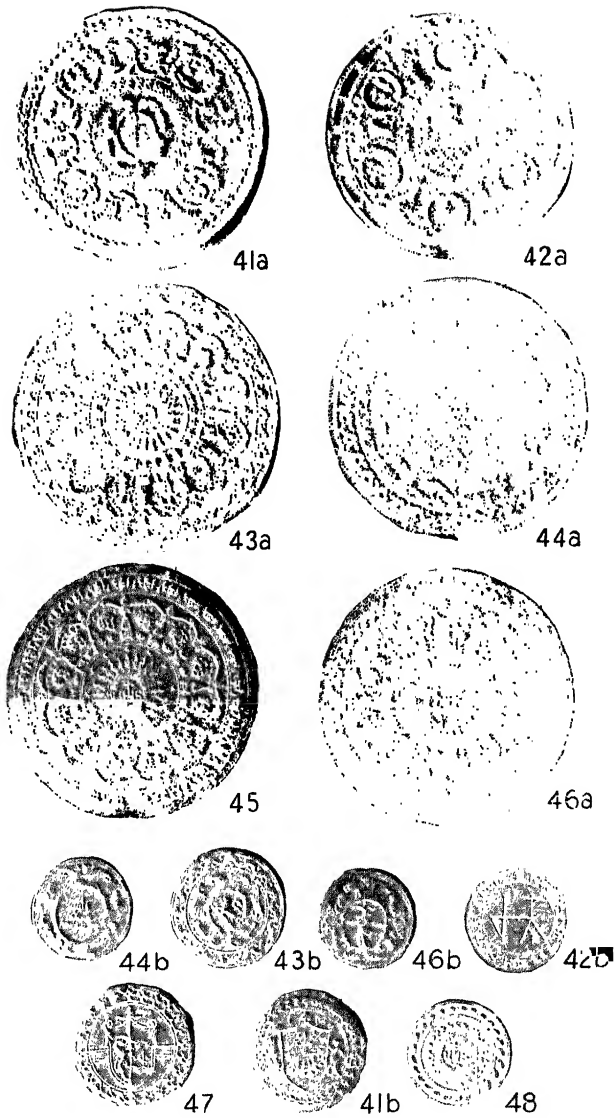


Fig. 11. ITALIAN WAFERING-IRONS

Nos. 41 *a* and 41 *b*. On one plate, in the central portion, is an elaborate shield with arms (two bars each charged with a roundel, between them an eagle displayed and a similar eagle in chief); the mermen, in the broad band, are of a curious form. On the other plate, in the central portion, is a shield, with arms (on a bend sinister between two branches, three mullets), seemingly the reversed coat of Numai of Forlì¹; the shield stands between two *putti*, and above it are I and M.

Diam. 6 $\frac{3}{8}$ in. Umbrian (X), middle of sixteenth century.

Nos. 42 *a* and 42 *b*. On one plate, in the central portion, upon a shield of a form rarely found on wafer-plates, the arms of a [(?) Venetian] branch of the Arigoni; the broad band resembles that of 18 *a*, and includes some of the same impressions; in the outer border is a name: IOVANES * DE * ARIGONIBVS, 'Jovanes de Arigoni'. The central portion of the other plate contains an elaborate mark, encircled by an inscription: IOVANES * DE * ARIGONIBVS * NOTA, 'The mark of Jovanes de Arigoni'.

Diam. 6 $\frac{1}{8}$ in. Umbrian (X), about 1500.

Nos. 43 *a* and 43 *b*. On the elaborate central shield of 43 *b* are the arms (a lion rampant supported by a bend) of (?) Arsendi of Forlì.²

Diam. 6 $\frac{1}{2}$ in. Umbrian (X), middle of sixteenth century.

Nos. 44 *a* and 44 *b*. On the elaborate central shield of 44 *b* are arms (a hand couped in pale, pointing towards the chief, with two [?] dependent ornaments).

[On another plate (not shown) having, like 44 *a*, a broad band containing large stampings of simple leaves, the central object is a large 8-pointed star formed of pointed leaves.]

Diam. 6 $\frac{3}{8}$ in. Umbrian (X), third quarter of sixteenth century.

No. 45. The twelve heads, in the broad band, have all been impressed with one stamp. The outer border is formed of cherub-heads.

Diam. 6 $\frac{1}{2}$ n. Umbrian (X), middle of sixteenth century.

Nos. 46 *a* and 46 *b*. In the broad band of 46 *a* occurs a curious impression, based on a human face seen in profile. On the elaborate central shield of 46 *b* are arms (a barrulet between in chief an

¹ Cf. Marchesi, *Supplemento istorico dell' antica Città di Forlì*, Forlì, 1878.

² Cf. *Ibid.*

eagle displayed, and in base a horse's head and neck erased, the charges facing towards the sinister).

Diam. $6\frac{1}{4}$ in. Umbrian (X), third quarter of sixteenth century.

No. 47. Central portion only; arms (a lion rampant against a palm-tree and facing to the sinister, demidiating three fleurs-de-lis between, in chief, a label and a fess wavy in base).

Umbrian (X), middle of sixteenth century.

No. 48. Central portion only; a 'holy wafer' design.

Umbrian (X), middle of sixteenth century.

Nos. 49 *a* and 49 *b*. On one plate, the central portion is occupied by a very large and unusually elaborate shield. On the other, the central object is star-shaped and is formed of leaves and flowers; in the outer border are scrolls and chickens.

The impressions on these plates, as well as on 50, 51, 52 *a*, and 52 *b*, are shallow and have a peculiar *flat* character as compared with those of the plates hitherto described; furthermore, the general style of these plates is distinctly inferior to that of the earlier plates. The work on them is, however, by the impressions of certain stamps, shown to be connected with that on the earlier plates, so that we must regard it as the decadent, and probably the final, work of the family by whom so many of the sixteenth-century plates were stamped.

Diam. $6\frac{5}{8}$ in. Umbrian (X). (?) fourth quarter of sixteenth century.

No. 50. In the central portion, a degenerated shield; included among the impressions of the broad band is one of a peculiar human-headed (?) bird. The companion plate (not shown) resembles 51, but has an 8-armed star-form, composed of conventionalized leaves, in its central portion.

Diam. $5\frac{1}{8}$ in. Umbrian (X), (?) fourth quarter of sixteenth century.

No. 51.

Diam. $6\frac{1}{2}$ in. Umbrian (X), about (?) 1570-80.

Nos. 52 *a* and 52 *b*. On one plate, a very large and elaborate central shield, whose vacant space is so expansive as to cause the scrolled portion to resemble a band of ornamentation; the outer border is formed of impressions of a dog. On the other plate, the only features worthy of note are the degenerate simplicity of the design and of the impressions composing it.

Diam. $6\frac{1}{4}$ in. Umbrian (X), (?) fourth quarter of sixteenth century.

No. 53. This plate and its companion bear the impression of one stamp only, a simple one; their ornamentation (practically the same in both) is almost entirely incised. On the central

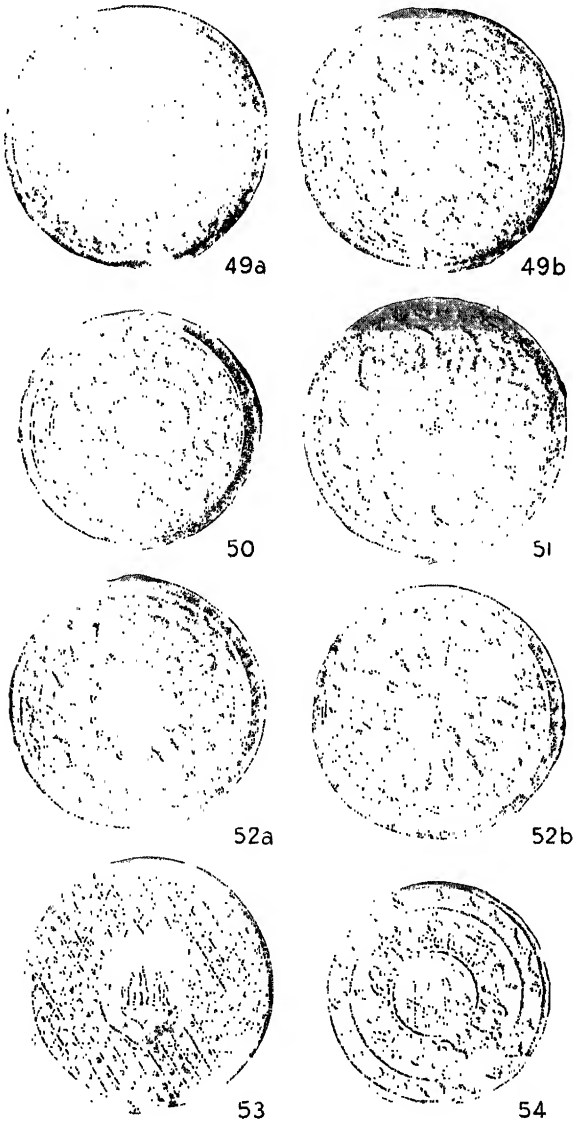


Fig. 12. ITALIAN WAFERING-IRONS

shield of this plate is a flaming cresset. On that of the companion plate (not shown) is a mount of three cupeaux with three mullets, one and two (above), and in chief three fleurs-de-lis between the points of a label of four.

Diam. $6\frac{1}{2}$ in. Sixteenth century.

No. 54. In the central portion is a crudely incised figure of St. Lawrence¹; the remainder of the ornamentation has been produced by stamping, mostly with stamps of rather poor designs. The companion plate (not shown) differs from this plate only in that its central portion is occupied by a rampant animal and that an impression of a large bird, feeding, is beneath each impression of a tree.

Diam. $5\frac{1}{2}$ in. Sixteenth century.

ADDENDA.

The descriptions given below relate to interesting wafer-plates not illustrated in the Figures.

The following were shown at the Exhibition of Umbrian Art, at Perugia, 1907²:

(A) 'On one plate, around a mark with the letter T is: ME FE FIORAVANTE DE PETRVCIO ['Fioravante (? son) of Petrucio made me']; and on the other plate, around a simple network pattern, NON TE FIDARE DE RASPANTI 1460 ['Do not confide in (?) the Raspanti (? or 'thieves') 1460']'.

(B) 'On one plate, around the arms of the Baglioni, is: VIVA LA BAGLIONESCA SEMPRE VNITA COLA VITELESCHA ['Long live the Baglioni always united with the Vitelli']; and on the other, around the arms of the Vitelli: CHI AL CORE NOBILE ET GINTILE SENPRE PENSA AL SERVITIO REMRTIRE [?'He whose noble and gentle heart always thinks to return a service']. 'Fifteenth century.'

[A pair of casts obtained in Umbria show, on one plate, in the central part, the device (a sling, or sling-like object) of the Vitelli family, between A and P, with, in the outer border: PER · FAR · COLATION · SON · BON · LE · CIALDE · MAXIMAMENTE · MENTRE · LI · SON · CALDE, 'Wafers are good to make a breakfast, especially whilst they are hot'. On the other plate, in the central portion, is a shield (of about ?1530-40) with arms; in the outer border is: LODOR · SVAVE · DLIAMENI · FIORI · FA · CHELECIALDE · SI (?) (?) (?) · BVON · SAPORI,

¹ St. Lawrence was a patron of Perugia.

² See the *Catalogo della Mostra d'Antica Arte Umbra*, Perugia, 1907, pp. 153, 154, 155, whence the descriptions have been taken and translated.

'The delicious smell of the sweet flowers causes the wafers to (?) have a good savour'.]

(C) 'On one plate is a crown with the motto AVE MARIA, and on the other a shield with an S.'

(D) 'On one plate, around a mark with the letter N, is: PENSA EL FINE EMPARA VERTV ONNE DI CONTENTO SERAIE PIV [?'Think of your end, learn virtue, every day you will be more content']; and on the other, round the arms of the Baroni della Penna: MANGIATE LE CIALDE CARE AMICE SON DE NOCENTIO DE FELICE ['Eat the wafers, dear friends, they are of Nocentio (? son) of Felice'].'

(E) 'On one plate are the arms of the Cenci; and on the other, around another coat, LODOVICO CENCI.'

(F) '... from the municipal collection of Foligno, on one of which is written: VERO E COMO SE DICI CHE QVISTI FERRA SONNO DE PIERFELICI ['It is true, as it is said, these irons are of Pierfelici'], and on another ['*un altro*'; this may signify a plate not related to the first]: FE ROSSIECTO EL LAVORO BELLO PEL CONSOBRINO SVV FRATELLO (1459?) ['Rossiectus made this fine work for his cousin-german (1459?)¹'].'

The following are from casts in the Museum at Perugia:

(G) On one plate, in the central portion, a tournament shield with arms, a crest, and mantling; round this a narrow band (similar to that of 13 *a*) containing a wreath; beyond this, a broad band of crossed lines like that of 13 *b*; in the outer border an inscription: + QVISTI · FERRA · A · FACTI · FARE · ODDO · ORFO · PER · NON · LI PRESTARE, 'These irons Oddo "Orfo" [= 'Goldsmith'] has had made, [but] not for lending'. On the other plate, in the central portion, a chamfron-shaped shield with arms (? the same, but reversed, as on the first plate); round this, a narrow band with a wreath and a broad band of crossed lines; in the outer border: M · PIETRO · SI · LA FABRICATI · ROSSIECTO · ZECHIERI · LA INTAGLIATI, 'Master Pietro made them, Rossiecto the Mintmaster engraved them' (cf. also p. 168, *supra*).

(H) In the central portion, a shield with arms; round this a band of ornament much like that of the bands of the irons on fig. 7, and resembling greatly that of figs. 10 and 11; in the outer border is: + GIOVAM · BATISTE · DESPIETRO · DESLORENZO · EPATRONE · DELIFERRA · COMO · PENSO · MDXII, 'Giovanni Batiste (?) son of Ser Pietro (?) son of Ser Lorenzo is owner of these irons as I think. 1512'.

¹ This date, queried in the Italian description, seems to be much earlier than that of any other work of 'Il Roscetto' to which I have seen references. Cf. *supra*, pp. 168, 184, 185.

(I) In the central portion, a shield with a crest and mantling; round this a band of ornament in the same style as that of G, but including also what seems to be the double-tailed siren of 25 a; in the outer border an inscription (from *Proverbs*, iii, 16): + LONGITVDO · DIERV · IN · DEXTER · EIVS · ET · IN · SINISTRA · ILLIVS · DIVITIE · ET · GLORIA, 'Length of days is in her right hand, and in her left hand riches and honour'.

(J) In central portion, a skull, round which are ten wreaths, containing each (excepting one, with + R) a letter of + REVISCAM, 'I shall live again'; beyond this is a band of wreath-like stamped ornament; in the outer border is an inscription (from *Psalms*, xc, 6): + VIR · INSIPIENS · NON · COGNOSCET · ET · STVLTVS · NON · INTELLIGET · HEC, 'A brutish man knoweth not; neither doth a fool understand this'. This plate was cut, I think, by the artist who cut those of fig. 7.

(K) In the central portion, a large merchant's mark; round this a band formed principally of a continuous line making a series of small loops, alternately to the right (and pointing inward) and to the left (and pointing outward); in the outer border is: + COLVI · CHE · FA · LECIALDE · HABELTACERE · CHA · ELPIV · BELTENPO · CHE · SEPOSSA · AVERE, (?) 'He who makes the wafers has to hide well, because he has the finest time that it is possible to have', or (?) 'He who makes the wafers does well to conceal that he has the finest time that it is possible to have'.

(L) In the central portion of each plate is a chamfron-shaped shield with arms, beyond which is a band of well-cut, but very simple, stamped ornament. In the outer border of one plate is: + PASSA · LONORE · INNANTE · AOGNE · COSA · COMTEMPERANZAOMEOPRAEVIRTVOVA, (?) 'Honour comes before everything; with temperance every work is virtuous'. In the outer border of the other is: + SER · IERONIMO · DEBARTOLOMEO · AFACTEFARE · ACHINO · RENDE · NOLIVOL · PRESTARE, 'Ser Ieronimo [son] of Bartolomeo has had [these irons] made; to him who does not bring them back he does not wish to lend them'.

LORD CRAWFORD had listened to the paper with the greatest interest, but was puzzled on one or two points, for instance the derivation of the word *cialdone*. It was analogous to *stiacciati*, which meant something pressed; hence the signification of flattening, and its application to very low reliefs in the late fifteenth century. It was also applied to Michael Angelo's nose when flattened by Torrigiano. In the present case it referred less to the process of manufacture than to the effect of low relief.

He could not believe that the rarity of the wafering-irons was due to the great cost of their manufacture: they must have been as common as the wafers and appeared even in the houses of the poor, perhaps as an extravagance but not as a luxury. He was at a loss to explain the monopoly of a particular factory, and wondered if such specimens as that dated 1551 with the ship-plaquette were made for special occasions, as it was obvious that they were very little worn, and cannot have been ordinary kitchen utensils; and the inscriptions, at times humorous or festive, pointed to the same conclusion. The contrast to the Germanic series was very marked, those being heraldic and based on numismatic principles, while the Italian were pictorial and based on majolica. No specimen had been shown on the screen that might not have been mistaken for a majolica dish: there was a tendency to follow the natural form of a plate and arrange the ornamentation round a centre, whereas the German were treated like medallions, on the flat. Finally, it was interesting to find a mintmaster making objects not connected with the coinage.

Mr. EVERARD GREEN, Somerset Herald, remarked that fastened to a splay of the window on the south side of the chancel of Feckenham Church, Worcestershire, was a pair of wafering-irons of the sixteenth century used for making the Host. They were found under the floor of the farm-house near the church, which according to tradition was the house inhabited by Dom Feckenham, the last abbot of Westminster, after the Crown had seized the abbey and turned the inmates adrift. The Rev. Douglas Pelley, when vicar of Feckenham, had the irons brought into the church, as he always thought that they had been the property of Abbot Feckenham.

Mr. G. F. HILL was impressed by the author's good fortune in finding an untouched subject; and thought that extreme skill had been displayed in working out so much in a pioneer paper. The subject was of special interest to himself in its medallic aspect. Punches were first used on wafering-irons when they were superseding the cutting of dies direct in the metal; and medals were made by striking like a large coin as early as 1438. Another dated 1478 was the first instance of the use of dies. In the sixteenth century Cellini used that process, but did not invent it, having learnt it from Lautizio and others. Another point was that the use of punches was contemporary with the invention of printing, and a type was in fact a kind of punch. He noticed the intense conservatism of the art displayed on wafering-irons, one specimen having a design resembling a Carolingian monogram; and even the most Baroque of them had

Gothic reminiscences. The only Renaissance feature he had noticed on the screen was the galley; the other designs were purely archaic in feeling.

Mr. HILDBURGH replied that the poor as well as wealthy persons had wafering-irons, although the more beautiful specimens must have been very expensive. They were used at festivals, baptisms, marriages, and other social gatherings; while light pairs seemed to be for the use of ladies who made wafers for their own amusement. He thought the mintmaster might have learnt something useful in his own art from a study of the blacksmith's productions. For many suggestions made during the preparation of the paper he was much indebted to Mr. Hill and Sir Hercules Read.

The CHAIRMAN congratulated the author on the success of his first paper as a Fellow. The subject was more or less a novelty to most present, and might be treated in various ways. Like other papers presented to the Society it was not the last word on the subject, but should rather be looked on as a contribution to knowledge that would be utilized eventually. Even a small subject like the present would find its place in human history, whether in relation to its artistic or technical features. Dr. Hildburgh had taken great pains to attain accuracy in every detail, and had provided a further exhibit in the shape of wafers made from the wafering-irons in his collection.

Thanks were ordered to be returned for this communication.

THURSDAY, 25th MARCH, 1915.

Sir ARTHUR JOHN EVANS, Knt., D.Litt., F.R.S., President,
in the Chair.

The following were admitted Fellows:

Edward Seymour Forster, Esq., M.A.

John Harley, Esq., M.A.

Sir Robert Stodart Lorimer, Knt.

Notice was given of the Anniversary Meeting to be held on Friday, 23rd April, St. George's Day, at 2 p.m., and lists were read of the Fellows proposed as President, Council, and Officers for the ensuing year.

J. P. BUSHE-FOX, Esq., read the report on the excavations at Wroxeter in 1914, which will be printed in *Reports*.

The excavations during 1914 consisted chiefly in the uncovering of the large house-site that was discovered the year before. Previous to the building of the large house there appeared to have been several wattle and daub buildings on this site. These only lasted for a short period, after which three long houses with stone walls and open fronts with porticoes on the street were erected. In the first half of the second century these houses were incorporated into one large house with an imposing portico, measuring 115 ft. long. This house extended back from the street for over 200 ft. and consisted of many rooms, some of them with mosaic pavements and *opus signinum* floors and others fitted with hypocausts. The rooms were entered from long corridors and there were two courtyards, in one of which was a large well, finely constructed of massive blocks of stone. A little to the south of the building was a small bath-house consisting of two warm rooms with hypocausts, and two octagonal rooms used as cold baths. In front of the portico by the side of the road was a water main, the system employed for supplying the house with water by the shutting of the sluice gates being of exceptional interest. The house was largely reconstructed about the end of the second century, when it was converted into one of the usual courtyard type, and a long veranda or corridor with a red tessellated pavement was added at the back.

To the west of this house part of a large structure was also uncovered. It consisted of two parallel walls 13 ft. apart, enclosing an oblong space about 150 ft. across. At one of the corners, which were rounded, there was the remains of an entrance. This building appeared to be unique and it was difficult to know for what purpose it was used. It was possible that bull-baiting, or games of some description, might have taken place in it and that the two parallel walls supported rows of wooden seats. A small house, with badly built thin walls and furnished with five rooms and two corridors, was found in the enclosure, but it was probably of a different date to the surrounding structure.

Among the small finds, which were better and in greater quantities than in previous years, were several engraved gems, one still set in a finger ring, a cameo of a Medusa head, some fine examples of enamel work, the best being a complete brooch of the dragonesque type, and many ornaments and other interesting objects. Pottery was again found in large quantities, over 200 potters' stamps being recorded. The coins numbered 571, the most interesting being three British coins and a *quinarius* of the Emperor Trajan. Nothing had been found to alter the historical conclusions. The proportion of pre-Flavian coins was

high and suggested an occupation before that period, while the last coins were three of the Emperor Arcadius of the same date as the two of Theodosius I which were found in 1913.

The PRESIDENT regarded the paper as a model statement of the year's excavation, which as the exhibits showed had been most prolific. The treatment of the building-plan showed a great deal of archæological tact, and he himself knew the difficulties of restoring such palimpsests, and distinguishing the various levels of a building. Mr. Bushe-Fox and his colleagues were to be congratulated on having thrown new light on the history of that part of Roman Britain. One point of special interest was the system of flushing the drains; and the evidence all went to show that towards the end of the second century a severe blow fell on Wroxeter. There was a considerable revival in other parts of Britain under Constantine and Valentinian, but that was not traceable at Wroxeter, where the contemporary coins were few and the late buildings of poor quality, as for example that inside the enclosure. Many of the exhibits were of special interest, the most noteworthy being perhaps the seal-box with its original wax for sealing and the fittings of a pioneer's axe. Crystalline glass of which a fragment was shown seldom came to light on Roman sites.

Mr. HAYTER said the interpretation of the complicated plan of the buildings was entirely due to Mr. Bushe-Fox, and those who had visited the site appreciated the difficulties of the task. The three long houses that first occupied the site corresponded with others already discovered south of the temple, all having faced the main street. The small finds had an early appearance because they came from the lower levels, the top having been removed in the previous year. He emphasized the probability of a Claudian occupation, earlier brooches and pottery being perhaps accidental, whereas the bulk of the coins were of Claudius, and were of a peculiar type noticed by Ritterling at Hofheim. Such local imitations were the common means of exchange during that reign, and the first occupation was evidently more military than civil. He took the opportunity of recording the loss of a most efficient foreman and attractive character in Hiscock, who as a reservist had been called to the colours, had been wounded and recovered, but on returning to the front had fallen in the service of his country.

Mr. STEPHENSON added his testimony to the ingenuity shown in deciphering such a complicated mass of foundations, and fully appreciated the lucid manner in which their history had been

reconstructed. The enclosure had so far baffled every one, and it was unfortunate that the modern road occupied the site of the fourth wall. It was too early to generalize with regard to the date of occupation, as little more than three acres had been explored out of a total area of 150-170 acres.

Sir HERCULES READ added his congratulations on the admirable manner in which the subject had been treated, emphasizing the desirability of omitting on such occasions points of detail that obscured the main features of some reports. It was enough to know that further measurements could be found in print later. The Romano-British collection at the British Museum, which might have furnished parallels for some of the exhibits, had for the most part been in storage for many years, and inspection of it was not an easy matter, but the time of its re-appearance was at hand. The Wroxeter scheme had been long delayed, but the Society now had the satisfaction of seeing it in execution. The assistance rendered by voluntary workers was specially gratifying, as without it the Society could not carry out the programme; and special mention should be made of the part played by the local committee and the University of Birmingham. With regard to the orientation of the two graves, he quoted presumably pagan graves of Saxons on High Down, Sussex, that had the same direction, and thought the Christian origin of those at Wroxeter was questionable. The relics on exhibition showed strong British influence, and he referred especially to a tall urn tapering towards the foot like one of shale at Cambridge from Old Warden, Beds. The column with base consisting of a larger cylinder was also un-Roman, and the cramp-beds were of the same shape as metal ingots of practically all periods and countries.

Mr. WILMER, as treasurer of the Wroxeter fund, expressed the indebtedness of the Research Committee to Mr. Hayter for his work on the coins and to Miss Ridgeway for her skilful restoration of the pottery. The experience of the past year confirmed his own opinion that the best method of raising funds was by personal appeals. The work had naturally been hampered by the war, and it had been decided to fill in the excavations both of 1913 and 1914 so as to leave a clear field for the next season, though no date had yet been fixed for resuming the work of exploration.

Thanks were ordered to be returned for this communication.

THURSDAY, 15th APRIL, 1915.

Sir ARTHUR JOHN EVANS, Knt., D.Litt., F.R.S., President,
in the Chair.

The following gifts were announced and thanks for the same ordered to be returned to the donors :

From H. W. Lewer, Esq., F.S.A. :—

1. The Aryan household, its structure and its development. By W. E. Hearn. 8vo. Melbourne, 1878.
2. War medals and decorations issued to the British military and naval forces from 1588 to 1889. By D. H. Irwin. London, 1890.

From A. W. Clapham, Esq., F.S.A. :—Some famous buildings and their story. By A. W. Clapham, F.S.A., and Walter H. Godfrey. 8vo. Westminster. n.d.

From the Delegates of the Clarendon Press :—The development of Arabic numerals in Europe. By G. F. Hill. 8vo. Oxford, 1915.

William Vaux Graham, Esq., was admitted a Fellow.

Notice was again given of the Anniversary Meeting to be held on Friday, 23rd April, St. George's Day, at 2 p.m., and lists were read of the Fellows proposed as President, Council, and Officers for the ensuing year.

The Report of the Auditors of the Society's Accounts for 1914 was read (see the end of the volume), and thanks were voted to the Auditors for their trouble and to the Treasurer for his good and faithful services.

Canon J. T. FOWLER, D.C.L., F.S.A., read the following paper on three panels of thirteenth-century stained glass from Lanchester church, Durham :

The panels of glass with which this paper deals have not been *in situ* within living memory, but in the earlier part of the nineteenth century they had at some time unknown been inserted in the plain glazing of the middle lancet light at the east end of the chancel. In 1868 all the glazing of the three lights was taken out in order to insert modern memorial glass, and these panels were for some time kept in the vestry. There they attracted the attention of our venerable Fellow, Canon Greenwell, who, as a native of the parish, had known them from his childhood. For their better preservation he had each one fixed between two sheets of glass in an oak frame. Thus framed and glazed, they were hung in one of the windows on the south side

of the chancel. Consequently, they were easily removed to Durham to be closely examined, drawn, and photographed.

These panels have almost certainly formed part of the original glazing of the windows, corresponding as they do in date with the architectural design of the three lancets, and if so they must have occupied the middle light, being, even without their border, too broad for the side-lights, but, with a border of proportionate width, they would have been right for the middle light (fig. 1). The general design appears to have been somewhat unusual. Thirteenth-century windows are described as 'medallion', 'single figure and canopy', and 'Jesse' windows.

This one has had groups of figures as in medallion windows, canopies as over single figures, and the groups connected by floreated scrolls as in Jesse windows.¹ The middle light has had groups representing events in the Life of Christ, each group under a sort of canopy, the groups connected by scroll-work, and the whole no doubt originally enclosed by a floreated border, none of which has been preserved. The narrower side-lights have probably been occupied by white pattern glass picked out with a little colour. In like manner the middle lancet at Westwell, in Kent, contains fragments of panels showing scenes in the life of our Lord, and is flanked by white windows of painted quarries, with borders, as is often the case.²

Before describing the separate panels, I will point out some characteristic thirteenth-century features, common to all. The design is in the lead-work, helped out by the coloured and painted glass. The treatment of the figures is quite simple, and they are not crowded. Architectural details are Romanesque. The ground is represented as lumpy, and of different colours, each colour, green or yellow, on one piece of glass. There is no attempt at perspective. The canopies are quite rudimentary. All the principal outlines are formed by the lead-lines. The lettering is Lombardic, but it now occurs only in the 'Magi' subject. The flesh tints are pink, not white. The faces are vigorously drawn, but not handsome or beautiful. The hands and feet are ill-drawn. The shading is indicated by bold black lines running to points, and edged with smear. Cross-hatching appears in the interstices of the foliage, and on the saddle in the 'Flight' subject. The flesh-coloured glass is the most decayed, the white, green, and yellow less so, the blue and ruby least. Much of the original leading is left, and it appears to have been

¹ Some authorities class windows of this kind with Jesse windows, but that term seems only appropriate where there is a figure of Jesse, with distinct reference to the genealogy of our Lord.

² F. S. Eden, *Ancient Painted Glass*, pp. 45, 47, 48, 50, 64. Nelson, *Ancient Painted Glass*, p. 15.

joined by the application of the hot iron without solder; the lead at that time was alloyed with a little tin to make it more

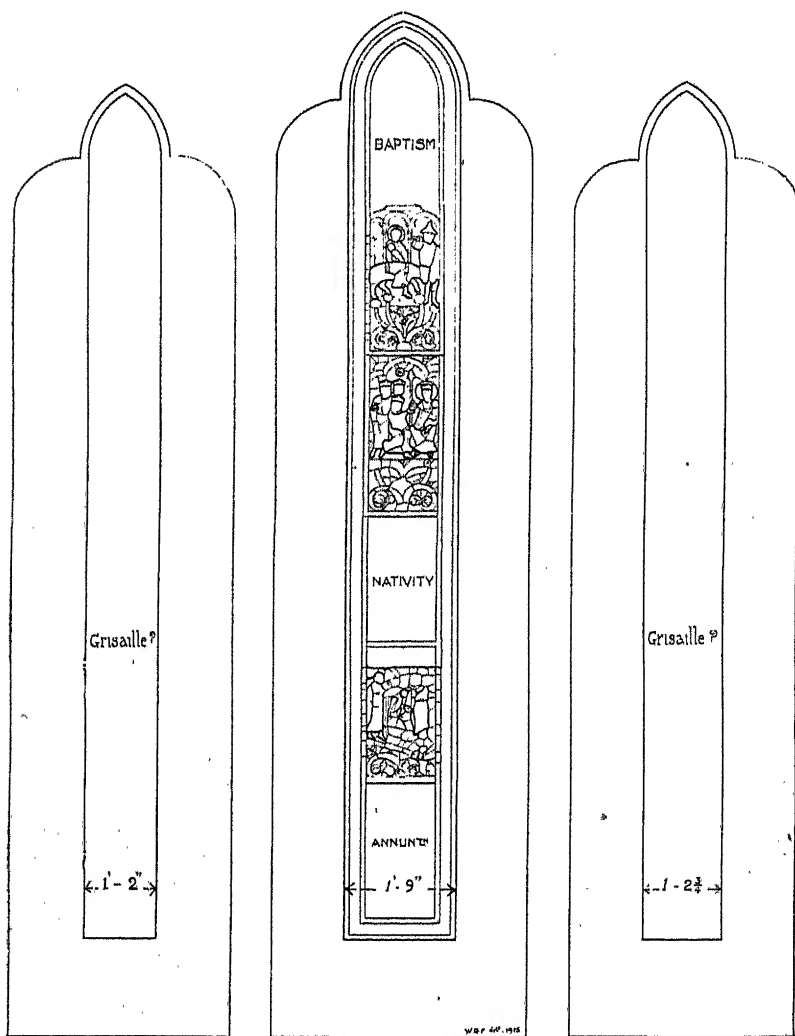


Fig. 1. DIAGRAM OF THE EAST WINDOW AT LANCHESTER.

fusible. There is of course no sign of any yellow stain, which did not come into use before the beginning of the fourteenth century. We note a great resemblance to other glass of the

thirteenth century at Le Mans (fig. 2), Salisbury, York, and many other places, especially in the foliage, parts of which are exactly like some in a border at Salisbury.



Fig. 2. WINDOW AT LE MANS, FROM HUCHER'S PLATE.

Much of our glass of the early English period was made in France or by French artists. Bishop Pudsey, who died in 1195, appears to have provided glass for the windows in the apse of



Fig. 3. THE BETHLEHEM SHEPHERDS : LANCHESTER



his cathedral, as originally designed and constructed.¹ That glass would most likely be French, and the glass placed in Lancaster church not long after may very well be supposed to have been of the same character. The French were always in advance of us, both in Gothic and in Renaissance glass.

To come now to the separate subjects. The series has probably begun at the bottom of the window² with the Annunciation, which is now lost. Next would come the announcement by the Angels to the Shepherds, which remains, though in a sadly mutilated and patched condition; then the Nativity, no longer existing; then the Adoration by the Magi, fairly perfect, then the Flight into Egypt, also pretty complete. Above these representations there would still be room for one more, possibly the Baptism of our Lord, with the Dove descending and the Voice from Heaven in the uppermost part of the window. The panel of the announcement by the Angels to the Shepherds is so much patched that the subject could not at first be recognized (fig. 3). But there still remain considerable portions of two figures, probably shepherds, in long white tunics and brown boots, facing one another, and in front of the one on our left, who has over his white tunic a ruby robe falling a little below his waist in front, but reaching to the skirt of the white tunic behind, and appearing in front on both sides, is a long green staff, now headless, which may be compared with those at Le Mans, presently to be described. Some of the lumpy green ground remains under their feet. There had possibly been an Angel with *Gloria in excelsis Deo* in the upper part of the panel, which is now all patchwork, or that part of the subject may have been left to the imagination, as at Le Mans. Between the two figures are the upper parts of a conventional tree, represented as a white and a red stem, each with a globose and slightly foliated head. A grass-green goat, his hind-quarters gone, is shown as if standing on his hind legs and supported against the tree, browsing on its bark or foliage. There ought to be some sheep feeding on the ground, but the lower part of the picture is all patchwork. In the lowest part of all are some remains of scrollwork, which is better preserved in the other panels, and can best be described in connexion with them.

The introduction of a goat in pastoral scenes appears to be a convention, and can perhaps be supposed to have reference to the widely spread belief that it is good for the health and happi-

¹ 'In ecclesia sane sedis suae . . . ornamenta multa dedit . . . multiplicatis insigni pictura fenestris vitreis circa altaria.'—*Continuator Symeonis* in Bedford's *Symeon*, p. 386.

² The usual order in England.

ness of other animals, as horses, cattle, and sheep, to have a goat with them. It is still thought that the presence of a goat prevents abortion, and that the smell of the animal keeps away diseases. There is no goat in the corresponding picture at Le Mans, in which, as in the Lanchester one, are two shepherds with long staves curved at the top like hockey-sticks. One shepherd is seated and the other standing on lumpy ground, and there are three sheep. In the picture of Moses and the burning bush on the opposite side of the same window are two sheep grazing on the lumpy ground, and a goat at the tree exactly as in the Lanchester panel of the shepherds. At St. Denis, the Moses subject is represented with sheep on the ground, and two goats, one apparently aiming at the bark, and the other at the leaves.¹ In one of the windows in the Chapter House at York is a panel (c. 1400-10), supposed to have come from the Lady Chapel, representing the Annunciation by the Angel to Joachim that his wife should bear a child.² Here are sheep on the ground; and a goat browsing on a tree with his hind legs only on the ground. And now, to come to a modern example, in the 'Gobelins' Restaurant in London, one of the designs in the tapestry represents a pastoral scene with a goat in the same attitude, attacking a tree. And it has always been well known that a goat will browse on a tree whenever he has the chance. As to the green colour of the goat at Lanchester, that is easily accounted for by the requirements of the colour scheme. Hence it is, that, as Lewis Day says, 'we meet with positively blue beards, ruby cows, and trees of all the colours of the rainbow; primarily coloured cattle look on at the Nativity, and Christ is shown entering Jerusalem on a bright blue donkey'.³ Here at Lanchester we have one tree of two colours, and there are blue leaves in the foliated scrolls. The background of the figure-group has been blue, but there is very little left.

The next panel, that of the Adoration of the Magi (fig. 4), is designed in the usual way, as shown in the photograph, and it may be compared with the central medallion at Le Mans, which is more artistically treated. It may be noted that the crowns are very similar in both representations, and that the attitudes of the figures are less stiff at Le Mans. At Lanchester our Lady is seated, but the chair is not shown. She is crowned and has a ruby nimbus. In front of her is a large white staff with a yellow foliated head, apparently a sceptre. Part of her dress is gone,

¹ Westlake, *Design in Painted Glass*, i, 32.

² Apocryphal Gospel of James, ch. iv; of Pseudo-Matthew, ch. iii; of the Nativity of Mary, ch. iii; *Legenda Aurea*, *De Nativ. V. M.*; *Brev. Sarum.*, S. Anne, *Lectio v.*

³ *Windows*, 1909, p. 366.



Fig. 4. THE ADORATION OF THE MAGI : LANCHESTER

but she is clothed in a white tunic with a white girdle, and there are remains of a green outer robe, and she wears brown shoes. On her knees, supported by her left arm, is the Holy Child, in a ruby robe; his face and nimbus are on one piece of glass, now very indistinct. His bare but apparently sandalled feet appear below the skirt of his long robe, and he is reaching out for something presented by the kneeling 'king'. That object is unfortunately now represented by a patch of ruby glass. The kneeling figure is in a white under-garment, girded, like that of our Lady, with a white girdle, over which hang folds of the robe. There are remains of a dark pink outer garment, and on his feet, as he kneels, we may observe his green boots or shoes. Like his fellows, he is crowned and bearded. Behind him stands another 'king' in a yellow robe over a green one, and one pink boot or shoe is visible.¹ He appears to have a white globular covered vessel in his right hand, and to be holding up his left. Behind and between the two now described we see only the head and a shoulder of the third king, over whose head, near the middle of the picture, is a ruby star. On a band forming a sort of canopy over the whole is the inscription, in Lombardic letters,

ADAM · MAGI DEVM XPRVM ADORANT,

and over this, slight indications of there having been some architectural details. The background is sapphire blue, not diapered.

The third and last subject that I have to describe is that of the Flight into Egypt (fig. 5). This again is treated in the usual way, and may be compared with the same at Le Mans. The Virgin Mother is seated on a white ass of which nothing remains but the four legs, though the outline is obvious in the leading, now filled up with plain white glass. The Virgin's face is also gone, but her ruby nimbus remains. The front and back of the saddle, and the fore part of the foot in a stirrup, are left, but all the lower part of the Virgin's dress is gone. She is supporting the swaddled babe (not nimbed) with both hands, exactly as at Le Mans; the swaddling clothes are light blue, and the mother's robe is dark pink. Joseph is walking in front, leading the ass by a halter, the position of his right hand being exactly as at Le Mans, where the halter remains. He is in a green outer garment, and wears a yellow conical hat, but is not nimbed; at Le Mans he is. The middle part of his figure down to the knees has been concealed by the head of the ass, and the left side of him from the shoulder to the knee is gone, but the legs from the knees downwards are clearly shown, clad in loosely fitting white hose, with high brown

¹ As the dresses come very low down in this subject, we cannot be sure whether boots or shoes are meant to be shown.

boots. His green robe reaches far lower down behind than in front. Over his shoulder he carries a white staff, on which is hung, by its handle, a yellow basket. He is looking back to the Mother and Child. The background, as in the other two panels, is of undiapered blue. In the case of this panel we have a complete Romanesque design by way of canopy. There are three round arches supported by slender green columns rising from the lumpy ground on which the ass is walking. These shafts are surmounted by purple capitals with neckmoulds, bells, and abaci, from which the arches spring. The arch on our left is smaller and different in design, and is filled in with ruby glass, while the other two are occupied by the blue background and the figures. The triangular spaces outside the arches are filled in by a representation of green ashlar work, over which is a cresting of light blue with little round arches painted on.¹ I cannot explain the ruby filling of the left-hand arch, unless it be later patching.

The scroll-work under this picture is the best preserved, and I will now describe it, referring to any particular differences in the details of the others. From the middle of the panel ascend and diverge two thick, fleshy, white stems, forming what has been called 'a fine, fat, Gothic scroll', each stem dividing into three branches, making six in all. Four of these branches rise into the picture above, and end in white flowers in the lumpy ground under the ass's feet. The other two are turned back and under so as to occupy the lower corners of the panel, and each ends in two blue trefoils. From the point of divergence of the main stems spring three trefoils on one piece of white glass, and over them two branches twining over and ending in trefoils, each on one piece of blue glass. All this trifoliate leafage is 'thrown out' by cross-hatching in the interstices between the leaves and the stalks. In the Magi panel green and yellow take the place of blue in the terminal leaves, and the green is thrown up by little bits of ruby. Little else is left; only a small portion of yellow in the central part, and a piece of white foliage treated somewhat differently from that just now described. In the Shepherds' panel there are blue terminations with little white trefoils between them. The backgrounds of all the scroll-work are ruby, so as to counterchange with the blue backgrounds of the figure-pictures.

Again taking the three panels together, perhaps the most noteworthy details are, the green goat in the Shepherds' scene, the peculiar outer garments of one of the shepherds and of Joseph,

¹ Exactly as in a wall-painting at St. Gabriel's Chapel, Canterbury, *Archaeol. Cant.*, xiii, plate at p. 78, and in thirteenth-century glass at Lincoln, Nelson, *Painted Glass*, 1913, plate viii, at p. 58.



Fig. 5. THE FLIGHT INTO EGYPT

being a sort of chasuble with holes to put the head through, reaching much lower down behind, namely to about half-way between the back of the knee and the heel, so as to give protection from rain, etc., but only down to the waist in front, so leaving the legs free. The low thirteenth-century crowns are quite characteristic. The boots of Joseph and of the shepherds, of brown leather; even the boots or shoes of our Lady are of the same material. The two 'kings' whose feet are shown are booted or shod, one in green and the other in pink, possibly with reference to their regal state. The large wicker basket that Joseph carries over his shoulder is interesting; at Le Mans he is carrying a rug or garment in the same way.

If I have been right in thinking that at Lanchester we had the Westwell arrangement of a gorgeous central lancet light of figure groups and scroll-work, flanked by two narrower lancets of grisaille lighted up by little jewels of colour, all three with suitable ornamental borders, the general effect must have been very fine indeed. I hope that the comparative rarity of early thirteenth-century glass will be thought a sufficient reason for my having described the Lanchester remnants at so great a length as I have done, and once more, in my eighty-third year, doing something for our Society.

SIR WILLIAM HOPE remarked that the sceptre held by our Lady in the middle panel was quite in accord with twelfth- and thirteenth-century practice. He thought a sequence of subjects would have been possible in the middle light, the Annunciation being at the bottom and Herod and the Innocents at the top: those and the preserved panels would occupy the available space. With regard to the side-lights, the curly scrolls suggested a Jesse tree, which would make the scrolls in the three lights uniform and do away with the contrast of colour. The glass may have been imported from France, but was most probably painted in England. There was evidence in the Norwich Sacrist's accounts that windows were made by local workmen with imported glass.

MR. NEWMAN asked for further light on the occurrence of the goat browsing on a tree. He had not noticed it before, and inquired whether the subject was confined to any particular century. Possibly it was intended to represent the spirit of evil.

CANON FOWLER replied that there was hardly room for figures if there had been a Jesse window, the side-lights being only 15 in. wide. The tree would properly have been at the bottom of the middle light, with branches extending to the side windows.

Sir HERCULES READ, LL.D., Vice-President, exhibited (i), on behalf of the Corporation of Ripon, an early British sword of anthropoid type found near Ripon, and (ii) a Viking sword found in the Lea near Edmonton, on which he read the following notes.

I have the pleasure to bring to your notice to-night two swords of some considerable interest, and will first deal with that shown by the Corporation of Ripon (fig. 1). It was sent to me some little time ago by the Town Clerk with a request that I might have it made safe against any further decay from rust. The story sent with it was that it was found at Clotherholme, about one mile from Ripon, with a certain number of bones.

It belongs to a very interesting class of swords known as 'anthropoid', and dates from the period known as La Tène II, otherwise the second century B.C. As a type it has strong affinities to a very much earlier class from Hallstatt (*B. M. Bronze Age Guide*, fig. 32), with widely branching horns at the end of the pommel. This Hallstatt sword, however, is certainly of a very much earlier date, say the eighth century. M. Salomon Reinach has been led to date the present anthropoid type as later than 200 B.C. on what seem to be fairly good grounds. Fortunately the British evidence agrees with the Continental on which M. Reinach relies. In Kemble's *Horae Ferales*, pl. XVII, fig. 2, is a figure of one of these anthropoid swords or daggers found in the river Witham. It differs from all the others of the kind in having neither a human head nor a mere knob, but a small human figure at the pommel. Another point is that it has its bronze sheath, and it is by means of the sheath that we are able to control the date attributed to the type on other grounds. The evolution of the chape from the Hallstatt type has been followed through a great variety of modifications until it assumes in the second century B.C. the form seen in this Witham dagger sheath.

An interesting discovery which has a direct bearing on this point was made at North Grimston in the East Riding of Yorkshire. It is recorded and the objects figured in J. R. Mortimer's *Burial Mounds of East Yorkshire*, p. 354. Here were found two swords, one of them being of the type now in question, with a very remarkable bronze handle of the anthropoid type, the other a long sword of the Hunsbury class. The special interest of the discovery is that here again we have the contemporaneous character of the anthropoid hilt and the Hunsbury chape admirably demonstrated. Thus although archaeology is held by certain historians to be 'the most speculative of sciences', the speculations in this particular case are reducible to a fair point of certainty.

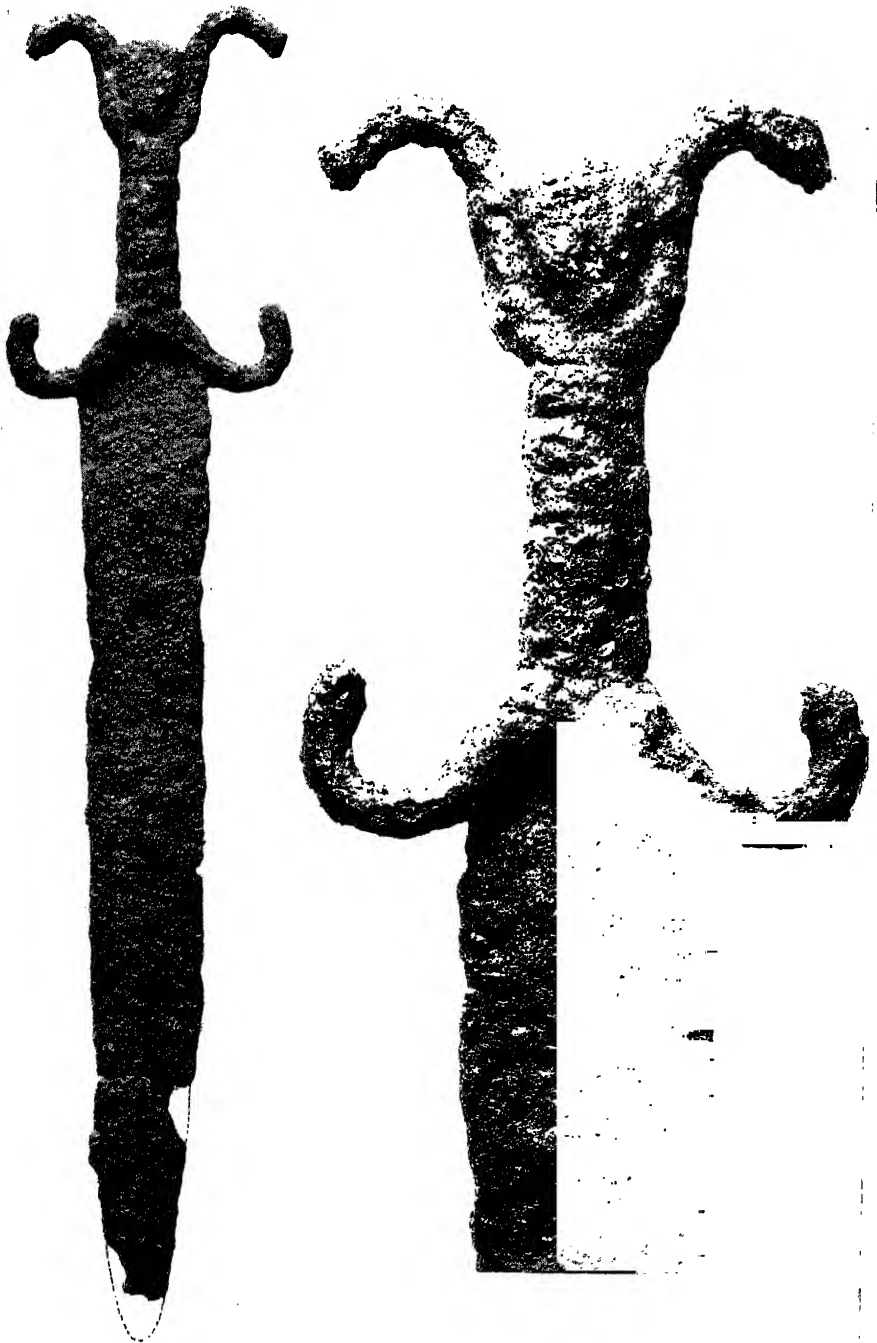


Fig. 1. ANTHROPOID SWORD FROM RIPON ($\frac{1}{2}$), AND DETAIL OF HILT ($\frac{1}{4}$)



In the example before us to-night two features of the handle are worthy of note: one that the whole of it is made of iron and not of bronze, as is commonly the case; the other that the ends of the curves are much more pronounced than in any of the other swords to which I have alluded, or of those figured by our lamented colleague, M. Déchelette, in his *Manuel d'Archéologie* (p. 1137), where indeed the whole story of the type is well and concisely told.

The total length of the sword is $21\frac{1}{2}$ in., of which the handle comprises $6\frac{3}{8}$ in.; the greatest width of the blade is $2\frac{1}{4}$ in.

The second sword (fig. 2) is of a much later kind, belonging in fact to the Viking type of which I showed an example to the Society quite recently. This sword is $39\frac{1}{2}$ in. in total length, with a straight two-sided blade slightly more than 2 in. in width at the broadest part; the pommel is semicircular in general outline and the guard is straight and shuttle-shaped; down the middle of the blade is a faint channel, a characteristic feature of these swords.

It was found about four years ago in the old bed of the river Lea at Edmonton. I was fortunate enough to secure it, and I propose to add it to our fine series of the kind in the British Museum.

At first sight the shape of the pommel might seem to indicate a date somewhere between the trilobed pommel common in Viking swords and the plain rounded form characteristic of the thirteenth century. If one depended entirely upon the apparent evolution of form, one would be inclined to place this type of pommel later than the trilobed shape. Evidence from another source, however, tends rather in the other direction. A find of weapons of precisely this character was made at Islandbridge and Kilmainham in the year 1866, and was published in the tenth volume of the *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy*, and later by George Coffey and E. C. R. Armstrong in the same publication, vol. xxviii (1910). Here were found a number of swords, shield bosses, iron tools, brooches, and other personal ornaments, indicating the presence of a considerable interment. From the indications of date provided by this discovery, the burials would seem to have taken place about the second quarter of the ninth century, with the proviso that the interments may have spread over some considerable time. Thus, whatever this may be worth (and the Irish evidence is by no means precise), it would seem at any rate to show that assuming that the date of this burial was the same as that of the sword now in question, that date is rather before than after the year 1000.

It remains to note that both the pommel and guard of this sword are inlaid with a kind of chequer design in brass, and that

in spite of the semicircular outline of the pommel, there still remains a trace of the trilobe design inasmuch as the pommel is cut into three sections by two diagonal lines.

Mr. REGINALD SMITH thought the date of the Kilmainham sword quoted for comparison was much too early, and agreed that the pommel of the Viking specimen exhibited was a very late form of the three lobes. It would be an interesting study to determine the date and origin of both the leading types of that period, with straight and curved guards respectively. They possibly overlapped, and were occasionally found together, but there were probably different traditions behind them. The other exhibit was by far the most important among the swords recently brought to the notice of the Society. Its occurrence in England at all was remarkable considering the small number known on the Continent; and the discovery of two in Yorkshire suggested a close connexion with Gaul, that could be predicated on other grounds, such as place-names and chariot-burials. The present example was an exaggeration of the anthropoid type, the arms and legs of the figure rather interfering with the grip; but there were other indications (as, for example, the brooches) that towards the end of the period known as La Tène II the Britons began to develop on their own lines, and their products then assumed an insular character.

The PRESIDENT thought the subject had been treated exhaustively, and agreed with the conclusions as to date and origin. It was another step towards an accurate chronology of Late Celtic art. The idea of putting an animate object at the end of the hilt went back to a remote period, and there were Cretan knives with human heads. Swords with two antennae, with or without a central knob, occurred on a whole series of Gaulish coins dating from the second and early first centuries B.C. A direct descendant of that form of pommel was seen on daggers represented on coins celebrating the assassination of Caesar.

Col. TABOR exhibited a silver-gilt seventeenth-century German standing cup, on which Sir HERCULES READ, LL.D., Vice-President, read the following note.

The standing cup shown by Col. Tabor is a characteristic example of German plate of the beginning of the seventeenth century. Without being elegant in outline, it has certain pretensions to good proportion, and the chasing is good.

The real interest, however, centres in the coat of arms surmounting the cover and in the medal inside it. These two together suffice to tell the story of the cup.

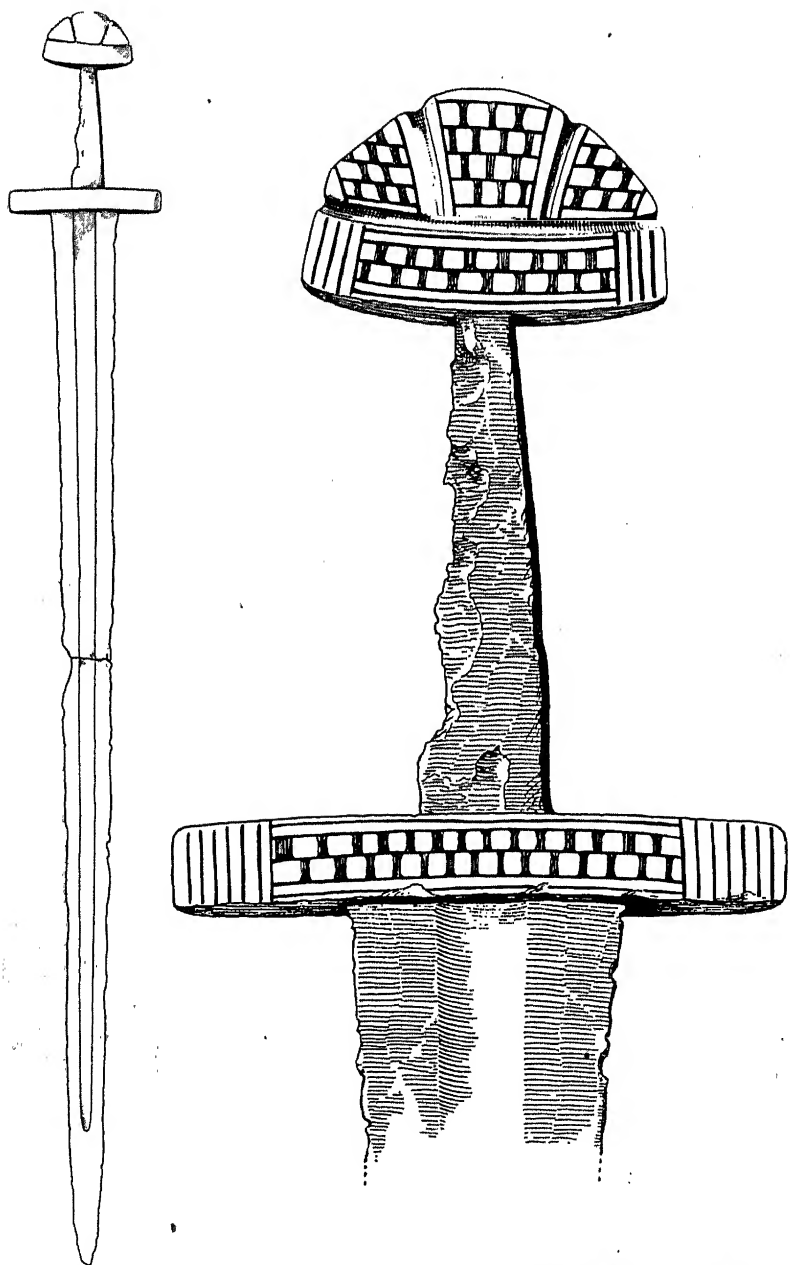


Fig. 2. VIKING SWORD FROM THE LEA AT EDMONTON ($\frac{1}{2}$), AND DETAIL OF HILT ($\frac{2}{3}$).

The medal is circular and displays a bust to the right of a man in mature life, bareheaded, wearing Councillor's dress and the Imperial Medal (*gnadenpfennig*) on a gold chain, above it an engraved inscription ANDREAS INHOF 1636; the medal has no reverse and has been cast.¹

On the cover is a figure of a sea lion, the crest of Imhof, holding a shield with the arms of Rehlinger, a quarterly coat.

Andreas Imhof III was born on 6th February, 1562, and died on the 17th April, 1637; he married 5th May, 1589, Regina Rehlinger. He was first elected on the City Council of Nürnberg in 1598, and ultimately attained to the highest position in the administration of the city.

When in 1632 Gustavus Adolphus handed over to the city of Nürnberg the custody of the possessions and the income of the Teutonic Order, Imhof was appointed Administrator, and at the conclusion of peace at Prague on the 2nd July, 1635, when the Teutonic Order re-entered into its heritage, its representatives expressed the greatest satisfaction with Imhof's administration, and Gustavus Adolphus presented him with the estate of Rachendorff and the village of Etzelskirchen.

For the information contained in this note the Society is indebted to its Fellow Mr. Maurice Rosenheim.

A small stamp on the edge of the foot represents a stag's horn in a shield—perhaps a stamp of Stuttgart.

Thanks were ordered to be returned for these communications and exhibitions.

ANNIVERSARY.

FRIDAY, 23rd APRIL, 1915.

St. George's Day.

WILLIAM MINET, Esq., M.A., Treasurer, and afterwards Sir CHARLES HERCULES READ, Knt., LL.D., Vice-President, in the chair.

Robert Garraway Rice, Esq., and William Chapman Waller, Esq., were appointed Scrutators of the Ballot.

Wilfrid Ward, Esq., was admitted a Fellow.

¹ See Erman, *Medailleure*, p. 83. It is attributed there to Bartholomeus Braun, of Nürnberg.

In the unavoidable absence, through indisposition, of the President, his inability to deliver a Presidential Address was announced by Sir Hercules Read, Vice-President, acting as his Deputy in the chair, and Sir Hercules Read then made a brief statement in which he referred to the losses the Society had suffered through death during the past year.

The following resolution was thereupon proposed by Sir Matthew Ingle Joyce, seconded by Professor William Gowland, F.R.S., and carried unanimously, 'That the best thanks of the meeting be given to Sir Hercules Read for his address.'

The Scrutators having handed in their report, the following were declared elected as Officers and Council for the ensuing year:

Eleven members from the Old Council.

Sir Arthur John Evans, Knt., D.Litt., F.R.S. *President.*
William Minet, Esq., M.A. *Treasurer.*
Sir Edward William Brabrook, Knt., C.B. *Director.*
Charles Reed Peers, Esq., M.A. *Secretary.*
David George Hogarth, Esq., M.A.
William Martin, Esq., M.A., LL.D.
Philip Norman, Esq., LL.D.
Francis William Pixley, Esq.
D'Arcy Power, Esq., M.A.
Sir Charles Hercules Read, Knt., LL.D.
Cecil Arthur Tennant, Esq., B.A.

Ten members of the New Council.

Colonel Frederick William Town Attree, R.E.
William Paley Baildon, Esq.
Jerome Nugent Bankes, Esq.
Edward Neil Baynes, Esq.
William Heward Bell, Esq.
Harold Brakspear, Esq.
Rt. Rev. Bishop George Forrest Browne, D.D., D.C.L.
John Dibblee Crace, Esq.
Rev. Edward Samuel Dewick, M.A.
Leonard William King, Esq., M.A., Litt.D.

Pursuant to the Statutes, Chapter III, Section iii, the name of the following who had failed to pay all moneys due from him to the Society was read from the chair and the VICE-PRESIDENT in the chair made an entry of amoval against his name in the Register of the Society:

Frederick Shum, Esq.

The following is the address prepared by the PRESIDENT :

GENTLEMEN,

In view of the preoccupations that fill all our minds and the inevitable demands on the time and services of our Fellows due to the great struggle in which this country finds itself engaged, it is something to be able to record the fact that our Society has been able to hold successfully its normal meetings and to prosecute its work on many lines. In this season of stress and of widespread personal bereavement, amidst the violent distractions and sensational emotions by which we are beset, the Science that opens out the silent vistas of the Past may afford our minds a welcome solace and at least a temporary sanctuary.

It is right that I should first speak of our losses :

During the past year the Society has lost by death the following Fellows :

Ordinary Fellows :

- Archdeacon Edward Barber. 23rd August, 1914.
- Everard William Barton. 12th January, 1915.
- Canon Charles Marcus Church. 8th February, 1915.
- Charles Thomas Daniel Crews. 31st May, 1914.
- Rev. Henry Mahoney Davey. 8th May, 1914.
- Robert Day. 10th July, 1914.
- Edward Dillon. 23 May, 1914.
- Edwin Hadlow Wise Dunkin. 10th February, 1915.
- Charles William Dymond. 7th February, 1915.
- Lieut.-Col. Henry Fishwick. 23rd September, 1914.
- Frederick Cornish Frost. 14th May, 1914.
- *James Eglinton Anderson Gwynne. 22nd March, 1915.
- Thomas Henry Harvey. 15th April, 1915.
- Charles Hettier. 15th November, 1914.
- Samuel Wayland Kershaw. 9th November, 1914.
- Sir Archibald Campbell Lawrie. 11th May, 1914.
- Andrew Sherlock Lawson. August, 1914.
- Rev. Henry Danvers Macnamara. 3rd July, 1914.
- *Hon. Robert Marsham-Townshend. 11th December, 1914.
- Charles Trice Martin. 13th May, 1914.
- *Edward Peacock. 31st March, 1915.
- James Crofts Powell. 17th August, 1914.
- William Ransom. 1st December, 1914.
- Sir Owen Roberts. 6th January, 1915.
- Bernard Roth. 29th March, 1915.
- Sir John Benjamin Stone. 2nd July, 1914.

* Compounders.

Honorary Fellow :

Joseph Déchelette. Killed in action, 6th October, 1914.

The following have resigned :

Hon. John Fortescue, M.V.O.

Hubert John Greenwood.

Rev. Robert Henry Lathbury.

Josslyn Francis, Baron Muncaster.

Thomas Morgan Joseph Watkin.

The following have been elected :

Henry Dyke Acland.

Thomas Arthur Acton.

*Roger Charles Anderson, M.A.

William Austin.

Henry Balfour, M.A.

James Berry, F.R.C.S.

John Edwin Couchman.

Edmund Fraser, M.A.

Willoughby Gardner.

William Vaux Graham.

Percival Davis Griffiths.

John Harley, M.A.

Thomas Henry Harvey.

John Alexander Herbert, B.A.

Walter Leo Hildburgh, M.A., Ph.D.

William Mangles FAnson.

Sir Robert Stodart Lorimer.

Frederick William Morton Palmer, M.A., M.D.

Thurstan Collins Peter.

John Quekett, M.A.

Clement Oswald Skilbeck.

Wilfrid Ward.

William Henry Ward.

Among the losses that we have had to deplore during the past year, Canon CHURCH, of Wells Cathedral, who was elected a Fellow of the Society in 1887, died on the 8th of February, 1915, at the advanced age of ninety-two. He was a brother of R. W. Church, late Dean of St. Paul's, and his official association with the cathedral of Wells extended over a period of sixty years.

His personal acquaintance with Italy, Greece, and the Levant was considerable. He himself was born at Florence, where his father had settled, in 1823.

* Compounder.

But he lost both parents early in life, and was brought up by relations in England, who sent him to a well-known school at Lansdowne, Bath. He afterwards proceeded to Oriel College, Oxford, his brother, R. W. Church, being a Fellow at the time. C. M. Church graduated in 1845 with a second class in *Lit. Hum.* He then went abroad, and spent three or four years in foreign travel, visiting Greece, Constantinople, Salonika, Mount Athos, and the Crimea.

During his travels in Southern Italy, Albania, and the Aegean lands, he was accompanied by the artist Edward Lear, many of whose admirable water-colour drawings illustrating the East Mediterranean lands were in Canon Church's possession. His personal acquaintance with those regions gave a special zest to his collaboration, late in life, in a biography of his uncle, General Sir Richard Church, entitled *Chapters of an Adventurous Life*. Sir Richard, after a life of varied military adventures during the Napoleonic wars in Egypt, France, and Italy, acted as Viceroy of the two provinces of Apulia—Terra di Bari, and Terra d'Otranto, restoring them to security and order.

C. M. Church was successively Vice-Principal of the College of Wells, Prebendary, Sub-Dean, and Principal of the College. In 1879 he was appointed a residentiary Canon, and his affection for the cathedral with which he was so long associated was testified by a series of works both practical and historical. He published several catalogues of its charters and records, as well as works on the cathedral, the palace, and the library, and one on the historic traditions of the city. As Master of the Cathedral Fabric he kept vigilant care over everything connected with it. A friend writes that, 'on one occasion, when he was eighty-eight years of age, he mounted to the top of the tower and insisted on being lowered over the battlements on to the hanging scaffolding, so that he might inspect the condition of the canopies of the corner buttresses.'

He made many communications to the Society of Antiquaries, all dealing with Wells Cathedral history. Among these may be mentioned papers in *Archæologia* on Reginald, Bishop of Bath; Savaric, Bishop of Bath and Glastonbury; Jocelin, Bishop of Bath; Roger of Salisbury, Bishop of Bath and Wells; Wells Cathedral Church—Fabric Notes, 1242–1337; the misericords in Wells Cathedral; the Library of the Dean and Chapter of Wells.

The chief interest of Mr. ROBERT DAY, who died on July 10, 1914, was in Irish Antiquities. He was elected a Fellow of this Society on May 28, 1868. He gave special attention to Irish military medals, papers on which, together with others on Irish plate and miscellaneous antiquities, were read by him to

the Society of Antiquaries of Ireland. He also wrote, however, on bronze weapons found in Lough Erne, and was instrumental in securing the great find of ancient Irish objects from the North-West of Ireland, which I had the honour of describing to the Society some years since. As Local Secretary for Ireland, he made frequent reports on the discovery of Irish antiquities, often accompanied with exhibitions. He was a member of the Royal Irish Academy, and possessor of a large private collection, dispersed shortly before his death.

In Mr. EDWARD DILLON the Society has lost an amiable personality, whose wide knowledge in many departments of science and art was always at the service of investigators. His own work was more specially connected with the Burlington Fine Arts Club, and for twenty years he took an active part in organizing its exhibitions. As a young man, he had held an appointment in the Imperial Mint of Japan, and he had acquired considerable knowledge of Japanese art. He was an authority on glass and author of a useful book on the subject, and his work on Rubens illustrates his extensive knowledge of Flemish art. He died on May 23, 1914, and his loss will be long and deeply felt by those privileged to know him.

Lt.-Col. HENRY FISHWICK, who died on September 13, 1914, was best known for his contributions to the knowledge of antiquities in Lancashire and Yorkshire. Born at Rochdale in 1835, he was pre-eminently a local man, taking a very active part in the administration of the town, of which he was twice mayor, for over fifty years. He was local secretary of the Society for Lancashire, vice-chairman of the Chetham Society, Manchester, one of the founders and president of the Lancashire Parish Register and Record Societies, and chairman of the Arts Club, Manchester. He was the first volunteer enrolled in Rochdale in 1859, and for some years commanded a battalion.

Among various papers communicated by him to this Society may be mentioned the following:

On the destruction of signs of the zodiac in Bispham church, Lancashire. On a font found at Rochdale. On a discovery of sepulchral urns on Pull Hill, Yorkshire. On some sepulchral urns found near Todmorden, Yorkshire. On a discovery of sepulchral urns in Bleasdale, Lancashire.

Our Fellow Mr. SAMUEL WAYLAND KERSHAW, who died on November 9, 1914, never appears to have taken an active part in the work of the Society. He had, however, made many contributions to the Proceedings of the Kent and Surrey Archaeological Societies, and was an Honorary Member of the Antiquarian Societies of Guernsey and Picardy. He had been for many years librarian at Lambeth Palace.

Sir ARCHIBALD CAMPBELL LAWRIE, who died May 11, 1914,

also seems to have taken no part in our proceedings, but his name deserves mention here as that of a distinguished Scottish historian. His works on the 'Early Scottish Charters' and on the Annals of the Reigns of Malcolm and William, Kings of Scotland, are monuments of wide and accurate learning.

In Mr. C. TRICE MARTIN, who died on May 13, 1914, the Society has to lament a member who had done for it forty years of good service. He was repeatedly a Member of Council and for many years belonged to the Executive Committee. He also acted as an Auditor.

Mr. Trice Martin served in the Public Record Office for forty-five years, and was long associated with the late Dr. Brewer and Dr. James Gairdner in the preparation of the Calendar of papers of the reign of Henry VIII. He also calendared the Archives of All Souls College and other collections of MSS., and was editor, wholly or in part, of various volumes of the Rolls Series.

Among his communications to the Society may be mentioned :

On Chancery Proceedings in the fifteenth century. On a Swan Roll in the Public Record Office. On an original order for the Defence of the Coast, dated 1625. The account Rolls of Sir John Daunce. Engraved powder-horns.

Mr. WILLIAM RANSOM, who died at Hitchin on December 1, 1914, was well known as a local antiquary. He was indefatigable in investigating and collecting the antiquities of his district. He exhibited and described many of these to the Society, including interesting Celtic urns from Hitchin, and various Roman relics.

Sir OWEN ROBERTS, who died on January 6, 1915, was one of the pioneers of technical education in London. He served the Society both as an Auditor and on Council, and was a member of the Finance Committee at the time of his death. He was an honorary fellow of Jesus College, Oxford, and one of the promoters of Somerville College. His services to the cause of education were indeed great and varied. He was for a long period Chairman of the London Polytechnic Council, and he served as a member of the commission for the reconstruction of the University of London on a teaching basis.

In Mr. BERNARD ROTH, who died March 29, 1915, the Society has lost a Fellow who was distinguished both in the anthropological and numismatic fields. He was elected Fellow in 1908, but made no communication to the Society.

In the midst of the unexampled struggle in which we find ourselves, at a moment when antiquarian research is thrown into the background by calls for personal service in our country's need, I cannot pass over the death of a young archaeologist who was not indeed our Fellow, though it cannot be doubted that his

ambition to become one would shortly have been gratified. Mr. K. T. Frost had already made some valuable communications to the Hellenic Society on the bronze statues from the ancient wreck off Cerigotto, and on Greek boxing, and his suggestive essay identifying Minoan Crete with Plato's Atlantis had secured a wide appreciation. He was a member of my own college of Brasenose, and a B.Litt. of the University. He had been a student of the British School at Athens, an officer of the Egypt Exploration Fund, and was recently elected Lecturer in Ancient History and Archaeology and in Historical Geography at the Queen's University, Belfast. He died at the front in France, refusing to surrender, when all around had fallen.

The death, in the same long battle-line, of our Honorary Fellow, Monsieur JOSEPH DÉCHELETTE, is an irreparable loss to the science of prehistory, which he did so much to advance. A nephew of the explorer of Bibracte, Gabriel Bulliot, he first assisted him in his excavations at Mont Beuvray, and continued them after his uncle's death. Varied results of his researches on many subjects were published by the leading archaeological organs of France, and in 1904 he brought out his great work, *Les Vases céramiques ornés de la Gaule romaine*. It was characteristic of his persistent spirit that, in order to be able to translate Pič's work on the Hradisht of Stradonitz in Bohemia, he took the trouble to master the Czech language. Besides Bohemia, he visited Germany, Italy, Spain, and our own country in pursuit of his researches, and from 1906 onwards began the publication of another still more comprehensive work, his *Manuel d'Archéologie préhistorique, celtique et gallo-romaine*. He was appointed keeper of the museum of his native city of Roanne, the collections in which he rearranged and greatly augmented, and in 1911 was elected a Correspondent of the Academy of Inscriptions.

Although his age might have secured him service of a more sedentary nature, he insistently requested that he might be sent to the front. His request was granted. As captain of the 298th Infantry Regiment of Territorials, he sought out the most dangerous and difficult posts. Given the order to take an enemy position, he fell mortally wounded by a bullet and a splinter of a shell, but not till he had secured a gain of 300 metres. He could not be removed till next day, and breathed his last, happily without pain, on Sunday, October 4. Before he died he asked the colonel commanding his regiment if the position that he had gained was held. On hearing that it was so, his face lit up and he was able slowly to articulate the words, 'I am glad that my death may be of service to France'. These words and the

circumstances of his death were placed on the Order of the Day of the French Army.

At a time when the ravages of the Huns of modern times have converted the rich provinces between the Vosges and the Scheldt into one vast field of destruction, there is a certain irony in the very mention of researches in quest of ruins!

Excavations already arranged on behalf of the Society before the war were, however, successfully carried out both at Old Sarum and Wroxeter. Those at Old Sarum, brought to a summary end by the outbreak of the great war, were ably carried out by Lt.-Col. Hawley, F.S.A., in conjunction with Sir William St. John Hope, in the area between the cloister of the cathedral church and the city wall to the North of it. They resulted in the discovery of what appears to have been the bishop's house—an important twelfth-century building having an aisled hall, with porch and kitchen on the east, forming one side of a court-yard. This court had a range of buildings including a corridor of connexion along the cloister to the South, and on the west another range entered by a porch from the cloister and extending to a garderobe tower on the city wall.

At Wroxeter, Mr. J. P. Bushe-Fox was able to resume the excavations on the large house-site discovered in 1913 and to continue the work, in this and the adjoining area west, till the end of the autumn. The house-site itself was especially important from the superposition that it revealed of house foundations belonging to four successive epochs. The stratification here was most carefully observed, and by the aid of the coins and pottery fragments brought to light, Mr. Fox was able to lay down the chronological limits of three successive phases with great precision. In the first stage there were only wattle-and-daub houses. These were succeeded by three long houses with stone walls and open fronts with porticoes on the street. Next, in the first half of the second century, these houses were incorporated into one large house with an imposing portico 115 ft. in length, and reaching back 200 ft. from the street. The house contained many rooms, entered from long corridors, some with mosaic pavements and *opus signinum* floors, and there were also several hypocausts. There were two court-yards, one with a large wall finely constructed of massive blocks of stone; to the South of the building was a bath-house with warm rooms and cold, the latter of octagonal form. By the road in front was a water-main with sluice-gates of remarkable construction. About the end of the second century, the house was rebuilt and converted into one of the ordinary corridor type, a long tessellated verandah being added at the back. The small finds from the site were numerous,

including pottery with 200 stamps, good examples of enamel work, and numerous brooches and other personal ornaments. The proportion of pre-Flavian coins was large; the latest coins found this season were of Arcadius.

West of the large house was brought to light a large structure of a hitherto unexampled kind. It consisted of two parallel walls 13 ft. apart enclosing an oblong space about 150 ft. across. Its use is as yet unexplained. It has been suggested by the excavator that the two parallel walls may have supported rows of seats, and that there may have been here some kind of bull-ring. But a rounded shape would seem to be more compatible with any such usage.

The Report of the holder of the Franks Studentship in Archaeology, Mr. R. E. Mortimer Wheeler, shows that he was able to prosecute his studies not only in a series of English museums, but at St. Germain, Trier, and the museums of the Rhineland. That he should have been able to carry out his researches in the museums of western Germany must be a special subject of congratulation in view of possible damage caused by the extension of the war zone, and the difficult international relations in such matters that must inevitably arise. It is to be hoped that the same wholesale destruction of collections that we have to deplore at Louvain, Namur, Rheims, and many other sites may not extend through that region.

Among the rich collections actually plundered by the German invaders was that contained in the château of the late Baron de Baye, a prominent member of the Société des Antiquaires de France and well known to many English colleagues. According to the French Official Report the principal 'conveyer' of his treasures was a German 'Hoheit'.

In view of the holocaust of Louvain and the savage destruction of historical and artistic monuments that has already taken place, I thought it right to voice the sentiments of the Society in a letter that appeared in the *Times* of September 1, 1914. The practical suggestion was there made that some partial compensation might ultimately be exacted for the destruction of the Belgian monuments by the surrender of Flemish or other works of art at present preserved in the museums and art-galleries of Germany.

A little later, I endeavoured to give expression to the universal feeling of the Society of Antiquaries by associating it with other kindred bodies in an appeal to the American Ambassador to use his influence with the German Government to put a stop to the wanton destruction of ancient buildings, priceless monuments of art, and historic relics, by the German troops.

I accordingly forwarded to the Ambassador on the Society's behalf the following letter:

SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES OF LONDON,
BURLINGTON HOUSE, W.,
11th September, 1914.

YOUR EXCELLENCY,

As President of the Society of Antiquaries of London, I desire to address you in the name of that Society and in conjunction with the representatives of the Royal Academy, the British Academy, the Institute of British Architects, the Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings, the National Trust, and the Art Workers Guild on the following grave and urgent matter:

The wholesale destruction wrought by the German troops, methodically and by superior orders, of ancient and beautiful buildings, libraries, institutions of learning, and works of art, at Louvain, Malines (Mechlin), and other Belgian cities, goes beyond the ordinary license of warlike operations. It tends to show that, in default of effective protests, no monuments however ancient and artistic, nor any other relics however sacred and historic, are to be regarded as safe in the areas affected by the German invasions.

Under such circumstances, we venture to appeal to Your Excellency to urge your Government, as occupying a neutral position of great authority, to use their powerful influence with the German Government to put a stop to acts of destruction which, though carried out in the name of military necessity, must, we feel, be equally abhorrent to the civilized sense of the German people.

I have the honour to remain,

Your obedient Servant,

ARTHUR EVANS, Kt.,
President of the Society of Antiquaries.

In answer to this memorial, I received the following communication on the part of the United States Ambassador.

EMBASSY OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA,
LONDON, September 14th, 1914.

SIR ARTHUR EVANS,

President of the Society of Antiquaries,
Burlington House, W.

SIR,

In reply to your letter of September 11th, the Ambassador desires me to say, in reference to the request made by you, in

the name of the Society of Antiquaries of London, that the Government of the United States make representations to the Government of the German Empire to the effect that buildings having a historical or architectural interest be respected in military movements, that your communication has been referred to the Department of State, Washington, for its consideration.

I have the honour to be,

Yours faithfully,

JORDAN HERBERT STABLES,
2nd Secretary of Embassy.

Whether or not the State Department may have thought itself entitled, even in any unofficial way, to call the attention of the German Government to these remonstrances, it is certain that no practical results have been visible. The hand of the destroyer was not stayed. The destruction of the Cathedral of Rheims, 'the Parthenon of France', was carried many steps further. That of Soissons was seriously damaged. The noble belfry and town-hall of Arras, like the historic Cloth Hall of Ypres, are mere heaps of ruins. Thanks to the perfection of the new engines of destruction, the havoc throughout the whole of Belgium and north-eastern France has been carried out to a degree hitherto unknown in the world's history.

The German military point of view is characteristically represented by the words of the Prussian General Disfurth: 'Even though all the Monuments, all the works of Art, all the master-pieces of architecture which happen to come between our guns and those of the enemy are blown to the Devil, it will be all the same to us. They call us barbarians—what does that matter? We laugh at it! We might, as a matter of fact, ask ourselves if it is not true that we have merited it!'

'Let them spare us, once and for all, this ceaseless chatter, this twittering of birds. Let them leave off talking of the Cathedral of Rheims and of all the churches and all the châteaux that have shared its fate: we don't want to hear any more of it.'

So the Prussian General.

But it is not so easy to silence the voice of History, or to conjure the everlasting condemnation of civilized mankind.

THURSDAY, 29th APRIL, 1915.

PHILIP NORMAN, Esq., LL.D., Vice-President, in the Chair.

The following gifts were announced, and thanks for the same ordered to be returned to the donors :

From C. G. J. Port, Esq., F.S.A. :—The historic booke done to keep in lasting remembrance the joyous meeting of the Honourable Artillery Company of London and the Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company of the Massachusetts in the Towne of Boston, A. D. 1903. Edited by Justin H. Smith. 4to. Norwood, Mass., 1903.

From the Author :—The life and teaching of William Honyman Gillespie of Torbanehill. By James Urquhart. 8vo. Edinburgh, 1915.

From the Author, Henry T. Weyman, Esq., F.S.A. :—

1. The glass in Ludlow church. 8vo. Ludlow, 1905.
2. Ludlow in bye-gone days. 8vo. Ludlow, 1913.

From H. Ling Roth, Esq. :—

1. Letters on the beauties of Hagley, Envil, and the Leasowes. By Joseph Heely. 2 vols. 12mo. London, 1777.
2. Bankfield Museum Notes : War ballads and broadsides of previous wars, 1779-1795. 8vo. Halifax, 1915.

From A. D. Tyssen, Esq., D.C.L. :—A collection of rubbings of bell inscriptions, &c., in 11 volumes, and a collection of pamphlets and wood blocks.

A special vote of thanks was returned to Dr. Tyssen for his gift to the Society.

A letter was read from the President nominating the Right Reverend Bishop George Forrest Browne, D.D., D.C.L., a Vice-President of the Society.

Lt.-Col. WILLIAM HAWLEY, F.S.A., on behalf of Sir William Hope, Mr. Montgomerie, and himself, presented the following report on the excavations at Old Sarum in 1914 :

We have the honour of submitting to the Society an account of the excavations at Old Sarum during the past year.

The results, of course, were not comparable with those described in our 1913 Report, but they are not without value in helping to carry on the story of the place, and to show how it was laid out. Moreover, our digging season was short, rendered so by the declaration of war at a time which has usually found us in the middle of our annual task.

Our excavations were begun on the 15th May ; the site selected for operations being that lying to the north of the cathedral

church and cloister, and between the latter and the city wall to the north. So long ago as 1912 the existence had been noted of a well-built wall with battering plinth on one side, running out in a southerly direction from the course of the city wall which was under examination. What was apparently the farther end of it came to light in 1913, abutting upon the north-west corner of the church.

Obviously our first work was to ascertain if a line of wall connected these two ends, and our surmise shortly proved correct, for remains of a wall of greenstone blocks were found to run between the two points continuously, except for a very small gap where two or three blocks had been robbed from it, perhaps in making a field drain. With this exception, its remains to the height of a foot or two were fortunately left throughout, a distance of 105 ft. Although its west face was carefully faced with battering courses of ashlar, the east face was left rough.

The wall was 2 ft. thick at the base and gradually thinned back to the width of about a foot in the upper part, but of course there was nothing to indicate what its height had been. Such a wall could have carried no weight, and must therefore have been a mere boundary, possibly of a raised terrace or garden, or at any rate of an enclosure which afforded light to the windows of the sub-vault and also to those of a large building on the east, presently to be described. The area west of the wall has still to be examined.

The garden area was thoroughly trenched, but afforded nothing beyond the appearance of what we supposed it to be. The trenches carried eastward finally struck a line of very dilapidated wall core, and soon afterwards a similar one was encountered further east of it. It will be remembered that in 1912 two quadrilateral cellar-basements or garderobes were met with, situated against the city wall and below its existing fragment on the north. It will not be necessary again to describe these, beyond stating that they were contained by massive walls which descended to a great depth and rested on the chalk of the hill. The newly found walls appeared to take a direction to the cellars, and we discovered these lines to be identical with their side walls on east and west. The walls were 5 ft. thick, and the space between them 15 ft., giving 25 ft. over all, and were those of a range of buildings facing the garden and practically parallel with its boundary wall.

The depth of the wall foundations increased rapidly towards the cellars owing to the rapid slope of the hill: and in order to make a level surface corresponding approximately with that of the cloister and other places, the intermediate space upwards had been packed with soil until it reached the necessary level.

The packing was entirely loose chalk, and contained only one object of interest. It was a fragment of Roman floor cement to which were still adhering six or eight small tesserae of squared flint. This indicated that some, at least, of the immense quantity of chalk must have been transported from the site of a Roman dwelling in the neighbourhood.

The buildings extended about 100 ft. from the cellars to the north-west angle of the cloister, but were not at right angles to it, nor to the city wall. In their course they were divided by a cross wall into two bays, despoiled of all their ashlar except for a few feet at the south end and a footing of an external buttress, behind which were indications of what might have been a chimney breast, and another projection at the cross wall suggested a vice to an upper floor, but of neither of these was there any direct evidence. The wall cores were of flint rubble and poorly-made white mortar. Undulations in the ruin of the wall north and south of the projections suggested the former existence of windows looking upon the garden.

At the south end were remains of a small chamber, found the previous year, which now suggested a porch entered from the cloister, giving access to the range as well as forming an entry to the garden.

In order to make the result of our work more intelligible, it will perhaps be well to state at once that many more walls were found as work progressed, and that the plan of these revealed a court of trapezoidal form, having on the west the buildings just described; on the south a similar row, and on the east a large building which proved to be a hall, but on the north it was difficult to make out exactly what had existed, except the buildings immediately north of the hall, for the lines of the original walls had been swept away, save for a fragment or two, and replaced by later ones which in their turn had suffered spoliation. The side buildings surrounded a court, on the surface of which nothing was met with, but its level appearance and a well-defined mortar layer over it all suggested its having been paved. The southern building running parallel with the cloister wall had no cross wall like that on the west, and ran continuously to the west wall of the hall, which crossed its end and butted upon the cloister wall.

At the angle where the north wall met that of the hall was a small garderobe, probably entered from the court. This was emptied but contained nothing except ruinous building matter, and at the bottom fragments of a thin glass flagon too much crushed for preservation.

On the line of the same corridor north wall, farther west, a deep depression was come upon, partly under the corridor and

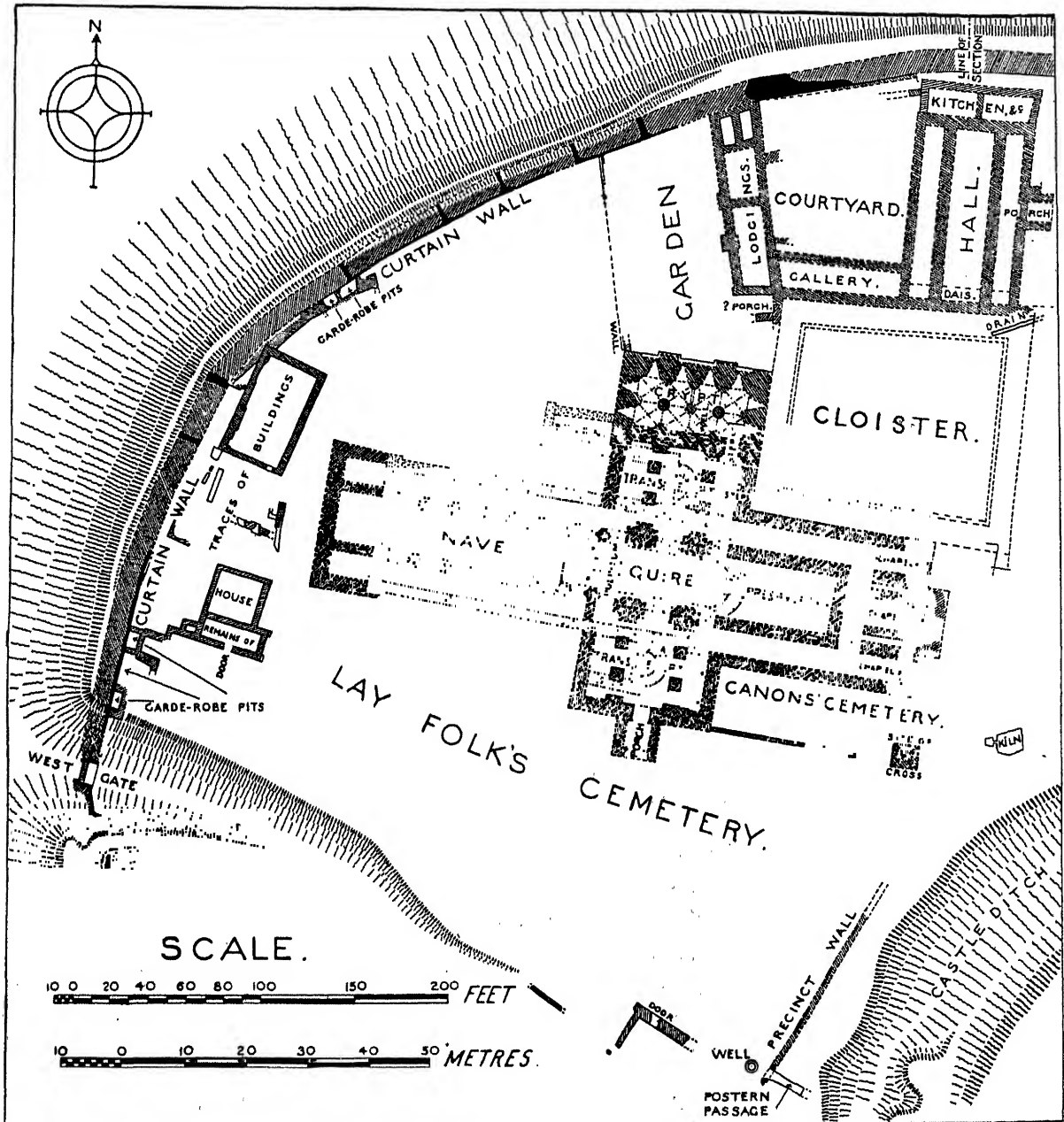


Fig. 1. OLD SARUM: PLAN OF THE NORTH-WEST QUARTER, SHOWING PARTS EXCAVATED DOWN TO THE END OF 1914

partly under the wall. This no doubt had pre-existed, but contained nothing of interest and had been filled up with very solid matter to bear the weight of the wall; it afforded a large quantity of broken and discarded ashlar blocks.

The hall which occupied the east side of the court was a building of some importance. It stood nearly north and south, and consisted of a middle division about 94 ft. long and 21 ft. wide, with aisles to the east and west of the same length, and from 11 ft. to 12 ft. wide.

The arcades that separated the aisles from the body of the hall stood upon thick sleeper walls of flint and chalk, edged with ashlar blocks resting upon broader foundations of massive character. The end walls were also of the same massive construction, and all were built with the yellow-coloured mortar. Against the middle of the east side we uncovered a strong but very rough foundation, which was evidently that of a porch. The inside dimensions of this seem to have been a square of about 10 ft., and a smaller projection on the north against the hall was probably the foundation of a vice or stair to an upper chamber. From the porch one or more steps led up to the principal doorway into the hall. The stonework of this had all been torn away, but along the wall within were the remains of a continuous stone bench, with a break that indicated the exact place of the entrance.

Since this may be assumed to have opened into a bay of the aisle, it looks as if the whole structure of the hall was divided lengthwise into six bays, each of about 16 ft. The body of the hall had on each side a lofty arcade of semicircular arches carried by piers standing upon sleeper walls 5 ft. thick. From fragments found, the piers seem to have been square in plan, with spiral shafts at the angles, and the arches to have had moulded orders with an ornamental hood-mould.

Whether or not there was a clearstory above the arcades, it is difficult to say. There were no doubt windows in the aisles, but the discovery of a corbel with setting-out lines upon its upper surface suggests that the aisles were vaulted, and this rather points to a clearstory above the middle division, rather than a continuous slope of roof extending over body and aisles, like that upon the much later hall at Oakham in Rutland.

Owing to the complete destruction of the building down to its foundations, except for a piece here and there of flint wall core, it is impossible to indicate the exact positions of the other doorways, but there must have been two or more into the building at the north end, and another at the south-west corner of communication with the rest of the house, of which the hall formed but a part. A good deal was left throughout the build-

ing of its flooring, which was of plaster only. In the second bay from the north, in the body of the hall, a large square section of this bore some traces of an enclosing curb, and was blackened to such an extent as to suggest that it marked the place of the brazier, or hearth of logs, by which the building was warmed. There were also further signs of burning on the floor at the south end of the south aisle. At this south end there were also found definite traces of the dais. This was about 8 ft. broad, and extended across the aisles as well. Its level was nearly 2 ft. above the main floor generally, but the latter gradually sloped upwards from about the middle of its length, until at the dais the difference was only about a foot.

From the abundant fragments found it is clear that the hall roof was covered throughout with flat tiles about $7\frac{1}{2}$ in. in width and from $12\frac{1}{2}$ in. to $13\frac{1}{4}$ in. long, with two holes at the upper end for the suspending pegs, and with green glazed ridge-tiles with serrated crests, like those found in former years in the castle and elsewhere on the site.

Before leaving the hall, it may be noted that at its south end, where it abutted against the cloister, sufficient space was left between the hall and the cloister corner for a doorway by which access might be had to the hall through its porch.

Attached to the north end of the hall and extending across its whole width, was a narrow building of later date. Its breadth was only 16 ft. at the level of the foundations, which were 4 ft. broad, and largely built up of old material, including many ashlar blocks and moulded stones of the eleventh and twelfth centuries; all laid with white mortar. The building was subdivided into two nearly equal parts by a cross wall, poorly built of chalk, which may have been an insertion.

In default of any other adjuncts of importance at this end of the hall, the building under notice may have been the kitchen, etc.; but as nothing of it remained above foundation level save a fragment of chamfered plinth course at its western end it is impossible to say more about it. To the north a narrow space, widening from 4 ft. on the west to 7 ft. on the east, between the building and the city wall, enabled it to be lighted on that side. The end walls probably had doorways in them. In the wider end of the space just described, and a little further eastwards, were two pits (not shown on the plan) which contained a large quantity of bones and broken pots, and other domestic rubbish discarded from the kitchen. Amongst them were the fragments of a Purbeck marble mortar.

When investigating the north walls of the court-yard buildings, we examined the foundations round the prominent feature of the place, the fragment of standing wall on the rampart, expecting

to find foundations of a tower in advance of the city wall. We were disappointed in finding any such foundations, or anything to show exactly what had been its nature, but there was sufficient to show that the fragment was of later date than the Norman city wall upon which it rests.

The mortar of which it is built is intensely hard, hence its preservation, but few of the constructional details remain, save a couple of transverse beam holes in the body of the wall, which may have belonged to a two-storied pentise along the north side of the wall. There are ashlar stones on the interior face, including a few with a chamfer high up in the wall, above which the face was set back. The whole of the north side, as has been mentioned before, was thoroughly ruinous, but there was a well defined line of later wall extending from the kitchen towards the cellars on the west, parallel to a piece built against the city wall which probably belonged to the pentise, or range of building along the north side of the court.

The objects of interest found were chiefly of carved stone, and in addition to those mentioned as occurring in the kitchen wall were many fragments found at the south-east angle of the hall, where it joins the cloister. At the south end of the hall was found a silver penny of Henry II in very good preservation, the inscription showing that it had been struck at the Totnes mint.

Although at this point it is a little too soon to write other than tentatively; it is quite possible that the house which was excavated last year was actually the residence of the Bishop of Salisbury. Its relation of position to both church and cloister, its architectural pretensions, and the size of its hall, together with the dispositions of its other buildings about a large paved court-yard, are features that in the earlier half of the twelfth century, to which it belonged, could be found only in the house of some important person.

Here is his hall, with its porch from without and with its attached kitchen and offices; there is a southern range which, whether a pentise only, or, what is more likely, a two-storied building, could then contain the chapel and serve as a gallery of communication from the hall to the range on the west; this in turn provided on its ground-floor accommodation for such of the household as did not live and sleep in the hall, and on its upper floor the living rooms and sleeping chamber of the Bishop himself, with the usual garderobes at the northern end; it also had its own porch of entrance from the cloister, from a covered alley that led to the church.

To find a contemporary parallel to such an establishment is not easy. We know that in the eleventh century archbishop

Lanfranc and bishop Gundulf had residences attached to their cathedral churches at Canterbury and Rochester, and there are remains, amongst others, of the Norman houses of the bishops of Durham and Winchester.

But of none of these have we a plan so complete as this house at Old Sarum which may have been the Bishop of Salisbury's. If it were his, it was probably built by Bishop Roger shortly before his death in 1139, and it was pulled down about 1220, when the Bishop's seat and the rest of the establishment were moved down to New Sarum. Here its story must rest for the present.

Besides working out the remains of this large and important house, we were able to follow up some lines of foundation that had been met with the previous year on the west side of the north transept of the Cathedral church.

These were found to belong to a building 30 ft. long and 12 ft. wide, with broad foundations of stone and flint rubble, lying east and west, parallel with and about 21 ft. distant from the north wall of the nave. The south wall was in line with, and of the same date as, the north end of Bishop Osmund's transept. The east end had probably similarly been in line with the west side of the transept, but had been destroyed, with the rest of the building, on the erection of the large vaulted crypt north of the church. The purpose and use of it are alike conjectural.

NOTES ON CUTTING IN NORTH BANK OF CITY.

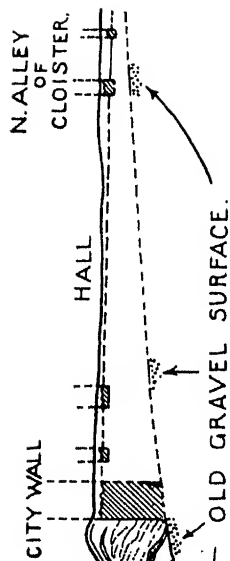
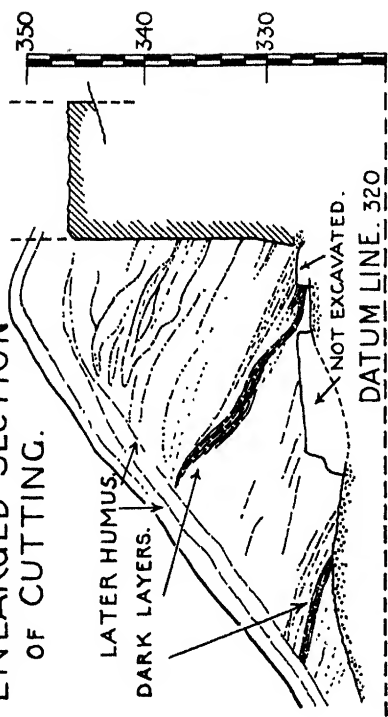
In the course of our excavations of 1912, it was found that the curtain wall of the city in the north-west had been carried down some 14 ft. to 18 ft. on to the old surface of the hill, and there were indications at one point that this wall had touched the inner foot of an earlier rampart of chalk, now buried in the present bank. It was also found that vast quantities of chalk had been deposited behind the wall to raise the terreplein of the city, the level surface thus gained extending as much as 200 ft. up the slope.

These discoveries suggested interesting problems as to the number and nature of the successive earthworks, and accordingly, in July of last year, a deep cutting was made into the exterior slope of the northern city rampart (fig. 2).

Advantage was taken of the scar made in constructing a shoot and bridge by which the spoil from the cathedral church had been removed to an old chalk pit beyond the ditch.

The curtain wall, some $11\frac{1}{2}$ ft. thick, was followed down and

ENLARGED SECTION OF CUTTING.



DATUM LINE. 250 FT ABOVE O.D.



Fig. 2. OLD SARUM: PROFILE OF CITY DEFENCES, NORTH-WEST CORNER

found to rest, as before, on the old gravel of the hill; at the same time, the bank outside this wall was cut through until the same gravel was reached.

The strata thus exposed presented a remarkable and interesting appearance. Their main lines have been carefully measured and laid down, and it will be seen that two dark bands appear very prominently, suggesting the humus of two successive ramparts, anterior to the wall, of which the greater part has been shorn away in widening and deepening the defences.

No objects were found to throw light upon the date of these works. The various layers, lying roughly at the same angle, were composed of chalk admixed with gravel in varying proportions and colourings, but the dark layers were very distinct and uniform. The outer face of the wall, thus exposed, rose from the old gravel in a battering plinth of 5 ft. with a set back of 6 in.; above this the wall rose another 11 ft., very accurately vertical, though the face is rough and not pointed. The top of the wall, as elsewhere, has been broken down and removed for the sake of the material, but the inner edge was found at a thickness of $11\frac{1}{2}$ ft.

Between the second rampart and the wall there were various layers of material. These were not so homogeneous as those of the earlier ramparts, but contained beds of all consistencies.

The problem now arises of their origin and date; i.e. whether anterior to or contemporary with the wall.

It may be noted on the larger section that, although the layers consist in great part of loose and friable stuff (such as was continually trickling into our cutting), they all, except the uppermost and disturbed area, impinge against the face of the wall without any distortion or deflection.

It seems difficult to suppose that the wall, with its true vertical face and projecting toe, could have been sunk through some 18 ft. of the loose material of an earlier rampart without signs of small subsidences and pockets against it, and it is probable, therefore, that these layers represent the débris of the two lower ramparts, thrown up in the hollow against the outer face of the wall to support it against the enormous thrust of the piled-up chalk behind it.

In various shafts, sunk in 1912 against the inner face, this material was always found in regular horizontal layers down to the hill itself, with no indication of a trench for the wall except at one point where the inner toe of the second old rampart lay a little higher up the hill and was cut through for a few feet.

Further excavations are very desirable to throw more light upon this problem, and also upon the presence or otherwise of any older work within the big counterscarp bank, and to pro-

vide data for a reconstruction of the successive profiles of different ages.

There can be no doubt that the whole aspect of the hill was materially changed by the Normans, and that they undertook, both in masonry and in earthwork, a vast and magnificent piece of engineering.

The rubble retaining-wall, rising above the terreplein as a defensive curtain, continued apparently round the city for over three-quarters of a mile, and the amount of chalk removed and deposited was evidently enormous.

It is to be hoped that record evidence may be forthcoming from which we may learn the cost and date of this great labour.

The CHAIRMAN thought the most important discovery of the season was the large hall, which had been elaborately decorated. The building was provided with nave and aisles, and was no doubt arcaded, the foundations of the piers being continuous, as had been recently found to be the case in the crypt at St. Mary le Bow church. He had always considered the run-part at Old Sarum pre-Roman, but concluded from the paper that it must be assigned to the eleventh century.

The SECRETARY said the worked fragments would gain in interest if they could be connected with Bishop Roger, who was in advance of his age in architectural matters. His fine-jointed masonry became proverbial. The fragments suggested a more advanced date, but it should be remembered that domestic architecture was often curiously in advance of ecclesiastical. If one of the stones was really the springer of a vault and belonged to the hall, it was evidence of a quite unexampled feature in this country, a hall with vaulted aisles. But in the absence of any trace of buttresses, the vaulting must remain an assumption.

R. F. SCOTT, Esq., M.A., Master of St. John's College, Cambridge, exhibited the original contracts, in the possession of the College, for the tomb and grate of the Lady Margaret in Westminster Abbey, upon which he read a paper to be published in *Archaeologia*.

Both of these contracts were very detailed, and showed that the instructions contained in them were carefully followed in the actual work. That for the tomb bore the signature of Torrigiano himself, and therefore settled the question as to the maker of the tomb. The contract for the grate was made with Cornelius Symondson, smith, of London.

Canon PEARCE expressed the deep indebtedness of the Dean and Chapter of Westminster to the National Art-Collections Fund for restoring to the Abbey the grate of Lady Margaret's tomb. No time was lost after the offer was made by the owner, and the ironwork was readily identified from existing engravings. He was interested in the suggestion that it should be re-gilded, and would consult the Dean and Chapter on the point. Even if Torrigiano's name were attached to a particular piece of work on the strength of tradition or documents, it was unsafe to conclude that he executed it entirely himself. The tomb of Henry VII and his queen was then being erected, as well as a large altar at the west end of it which was generally ascribed to Torrigiano, but it was certain that another man was paid for the work. Benedetto da Rovezzano's receipt of payment for the work was in existence, dated 22 August, 18th year of Henry VIII (Westminster muniments, no. 30626), and he was responsible for work done upon it to the value of £35 15s. In 1553 Edward VI was buried beneath this altar. The work done by Benedetto for the Abbey counterbalanced to some extent his execution of the sarcophagus now in St. Paul's, which, having been made for Wolsey, now contained the remains of Nelson.

Rev. H. F. WESTLAKE had brought a transcript of an indenture made for the altar, proving that Benedetto da Rovezzano had a share in the work, but that Torrigiano had received in advance £1,000 for making that altar. The actual work had been lost, but there was an engraving of it in existence. The deed described the altar and its accessories and was dated 1516, four years after the indenture for making Henry VII's tomb, and five years later than the indenture mentioned in the paper.

Mr. E. A. WEBB held it was reasonable to suppose that Prior Bolton had a good deal to do with the tomb of Lady Margaret, because the king's will mentioned that Bolton was clerk of the works; hence he was presumably the architect. The Lady Margaret window at Christ's College, Cambridge, was similar in design to Prior Bolton's at St. Bartholomew's, and evidence was given in the paper that he was architect both of Christ's College chapel and St. John's.

Sir WILLIAM HOPE pointed out that 'clerk of the works' only signified paymaster: the master mason corresponded to the modern architect.

The MASTER OF ST. JOHN'S COLLEGE replied that Prior Bolton had nothing to do with the chapel of St. John's, which existed before the college: the latter, like Christ's College, replaced an earlier foundation on the same site.

Thanks were ordered to be returned for these communications.

THURSDAY, 6th MAY, 1915.

PHILIP NORMAN, Esq., I.L.D., Vice-President,
in the Chair.

The following gifts were announced, and thanks for the same ordered to be returned to the donors:

From V. B. Crowther-Beynon, Esq., F.S.A.:—A description of the country from thirty to forty miles round Manchester. By J. Aikin. 4to. London, 1793.

From the Author:—The goldsmith and the young couple, or the legend of St. Eloy and St. Godeberta (by Petrus Christus). By H. Clifford Smith, F.S.A. Privately printed. 4to. n.p. 1915.

Notice was given of a ballot for the election of Fellows to be held on Thursday, June 3, 1915, and the list of candidates to be put to the ballot was read.

Sir WILLIAM ST. JOHN HOPE, Litt.D., D.C.L., read a paper on the Last Testament and Inventory of John de Veer, 13th Earl of Oxford, which will be printed in *Archæologia*.

The Last Testament and the Inventory of John de Veer, the 13th Earl of Oxford (*ob.* 1509), were documents of considerable importance as illustrating the nature and value of the goods and chattels of a wealthy nobleman at the beginning of the sixteenth century. The Earl of Oxford was a man who experienced various vicissitudes of fortune, and for some years was a prisoner in exile from his native land. On his return to England and restoration to place and power, his great wealth soon enabled him largely to make good the losses he had sustained during his attainder and imprisonment, and the inventory under notice showed in an interesting way, through the liberal use of heraldic decorations, in what directions he spent some of his wealth. The inventory was especially rich in lists of magnificent pieces of plate, but it also contained much household furniture and chapel stuff, as well as armour and weapons and various miscellaneous

objects. Large numbers of these goods were disposed of under the Earl's testament, which was of unusual interest on that account. His landed property was disposed of by a separate will.

Rev. E. E. DORLING referred more especially to some points of heraldry raised in the paper, and was attracted by the question of badges. At the stage then reached in the development of heraldry, personages were no longer content with one or two badges, but adopted one for every office held, and for their various interests in life. In illustration, he quoted the series over the west door of Hedingham church. Badges were commonly divided into three groups, the first and largest of which had no personal connexion with persons adopting them, but were purely matters of caprice, such as the mermaid of Berkeley, the oak-twig of Arundel. The second series was borrowed from personal arms, such as the fret of Harington, the scallop of Dacre, and the molet of Oxford. The third group consisted of puns on the name, such as the boar (*verres*) of the Veres, and the portcullis of the Beauforts. He thought the creature described as a harpy might be meant for the symbol of St. John, in allusion to the Earl's name. Nothing was more common in medieval seals than for a John to have an eagle, and similarly with the rest; and the addition of a human face might be a mere refinement of the badge theory. The author should be congratulated on the discovery of the 'caly greyhound', which according to Mr. Druce could not be identified in the Bestiaries. The cranket was probably a badge belonging exclusively to that earl of Oxford and denoting one of his many offices. With the boar and molet, it formed an interesting addition to our knowledge of medieval times, on which Sir William was to be complimented.

The CHAIRMAN had always found badges a mysterious subject, and asked to what extent they were hereditary. Their variation from generation to generation was largely due to the different offices held. He was struck with the enormous wealth of the earl, £8,000 being equivalent to about a quarter of a million at the present day, a fortune acquired or recovered between the years 1484 and 1513.

SIR WILLIAM HOPE replied that the whole question of badges required systematic study. Every example found should be noted and the authority for it given, so that in time a corpus could be made available. He was inclined to agree with Mr. Dorling about the eagle with an angel's face: a set of the

Evangelistic symbols in Nettlestead church, Kent, had human heads. Badges were not looked upon as hereditary but were purely personal, though a son sometimes adopted the badge of his father. The siren or harpy was used by the 15th Earl of Oxford in Hedingham church.



Fig. 1. ALABASTER TABLE, REPRESENTING THE CORONATION OF OUR LADY ($\frac{1}{2}$).

V. T. HODGSON, Esq., F.S.A., exhibited two alabaster tables representing the Coronation of our Lady and the Descent from the Cross, on which he read the following note:

The two alabaster tables exhibited are of the usual type made in the Derbyshire or Nottinghamshire 'shops' or 'schools' at

the beginning of the fifteenth century. Both are somewhat damaged and are said to have come from Sherborne abbey, some years ago, when restoration was going on, but of this there is no corroborative evidence.

The larger one, which measures 18 in. by 10½ in., has lost a small portion of the upper edge (fig. 1). It represents the



Fig. 2. ALABASTER TABLE, REPRESENTING THE DESCENT FROM THE CROSS ($\frac{1}{4}$).

Coronation of our Lady. Of the three persons of the Trinity, the central is in the form of a dove, the others of human form. Each of these last has two fingers of one hand raised in blessing, and two fingers of the other hand resting on the triple crown of the Virgin. The triple crown is an interesting and unusual feature. Two angels with musical instruments and two with censers flank the lower portion of the seated Virgin. Traces of colour may be seen, following the usual type of decoration, i. e.

gold, reds, blues, and greens, the ground being picked out with five-petalled flowers.

The second table (fig. 2) represents the Descent from the Cross, and is rather an uncommon subject. Where found, it has generally been one panel of a seven-panelled reredos. A fairly large portion of the top of this panel, which now measures 15 in. by 10 in., is missing, but all the grouping is clearly shown. Joseph and St. Mary stand on either side of the cross, from which the body of our Lord is being lowered by soldiers.

Beyond the fact that the second panel is usually found associated with a set of six others, there is no evidence to show whether either was part of a reredos, or a single panel for a passion or story. As the panels are of different sizes, they were evidently not part of the same set.

Sir WILLIAM HOPE said there was little fresh to be said on the subject of alabasters. They were made in large numbers at Nottingham, and exported far and wide. Many of the large number in the Rouen Museum, both whole tables and fragments, did not as usual portray Passion scenes; and at the time of the Alabaster Exhibition, several pieces were seen to represent saints not known in England, though clearly Nottingham work. Many curious points might be noted at Rouen, and there were other specimens of interest in a museum at Toulouse, in excellent preservation though evidently stock specimens.

The CHAIRMAN remarked that there were still copies of the Alabaster catalogue on sale, and thought they would increase in value as time went on. It was gratifying to know that alabaster working was a native industry, and the old idea that the tables were imported was now abandoned.

Thanks were ordered to be returned for this communication and exhibition.

THURSDAY, 20th MAY, 1915.

Sir ARTHUR JOHN EVANS, Knt., D.Litt., F.R.S., President, and afterwards the Right Reverend Bishop GEORGE FORREST BROWNE, D.D., D.C.L., Vice-President, in the Chair.

The following gifts were announced, and thanks for the same ordered to be returned to the donors:

From W. E. Foster, Esq., F.S.A. :—The Rt. Hon. Lord Boston's muniments at Hedsor relating to South Lincolnshire. 8vo. Horncastle, 1914.

From the Author :—Prehistoric problems in geology. By Reginald A. Smith, F.S.A. 8vo. London, 1915.

From the Walthamstow Antiquarian Society :—The manor of Walthamstow Toni or High Hall. By G. F. Bosworth. 4to. n.p. 1915.

From the Author, Sir William St. John Hope :—

1. A palatinate seal of John, Earl of Warenne, Surrey, and Stratherne. 1305–1347. 8vo. London, 1914.
2. The heraldry and sculptures of the vault of the Divinity School at Oxford. 8vo. London, 1914.

Notice was again given of the ballot for the election of Fellows to be held on Thursday, June 3, 1915, and the list of the candidates to be put to the ballot was again read.

REGINALD A. SMITH, Esq., F.S.A., read a paper on Researches at Rickmansworth: being a report on excavations undertaken by the British Museum in 1914, to which Henry Dewey, Esq., F.G.S., added some geological notes. The paper will be printed in *Archaeologia*.

The pits selected had for some years produced palaeoliths in quantity, and the intention was to find specimens in position which might date the deposits, at least archaeologically. The pit in Long Valley Wood, Croxley Green, showed about 26 ft. of gravel and Tertiary material on chalk, and yielded human work in flint at the base; but nothing contemporary was found in four days at Mill End, west of Rickmansworth. The Mill End pit was marked as valley gravel on the Geological Survey maps of 1871 and 1904, but the Croxley deposit appeared as plateau gravel, of the kind that passed below the Boulder-clay at Bricket Wood and Finchley. If the mapping were correct, the implements would confirm other recent finds in plateau gravel far away from rivers; but if the gravel were laid down by the Colne, the Croxley pit would be comparable with Swanscombe, the whole of the Drift period being represented at both places. Chelles types predominated, but there were many St. Acheul ovates, and a few Le Moustier points, the last probably from brick-earth. There were difficulties involved in either interpretation of the Croxley gravel, but the archaeological evidence was quite definite.

Mr. DEWEY, in his geological notes on the paper, pointed out the importance of the excavations in ascertaining the relationship of the gravel at Croxley Green pit and the fluvio-glacial drift lying on the adjacent hill-tops. The work failed to detect

any discontinuity between the two spreads of gravel, but it seemed highly probable that the Croxley Green gravel was merely re-arranged fluvio-glacial material, derived from the neighbourhood. At Mill End the top of the hill was covered with a thick sheet of fluvio-glacial gravel identical in character with the Croxley Green deposits. Eighty feet below, down the hill, there was a wide spread of gravel forming a terrace flanking the River Colne, and it was in this spread that the pits at Mill End had been excavated. After the glacial period, normal river erosion would rearrange the gravels and deposit them in terraces, but there was probably no great break in the succession. The marked distinction at Mill End rendered it highly improbable that, at such a short distance, a similar gravel containing identical implements should be of greatly different age. As an officer of the Geological Survey he was bound to state that he was not responsible for the wording of the summary issued with the notice-paper.

The PRESIDENT, who exhibited specimens from Croxley, referred especially to a Le Moustier type which had been found at a depth of 26 ft. The latest Drift forms were in the same condition as the rest, and till they were proved to be from the brick-earth, it was prudent to consider them equally from the gravel. He found it difficult to believe that they preceded the Boulder-clay, and hoped that representatives of the Geological Survey would discuss that point. He mentioned a letter just received that announced the discovery of palaeolithic and neolithic flints by British prisoners in one of the German internment-camps.

Mr. BARROW thought that the revised (though unpublished) map of the Geological Survey might have been consulted with advantage, and that any one with the slightest geological training would immediately recognize the Croxley gravel as a river-terrace. The Survey formerly used 1-in. maps, which allowed little room for manuscript notes, and gave rise to occasional omissions. Many large pits had been opened in the plateau gravel, but had never yielded palaeolithic implements. He would not deny that man might be pre-glacial, but was sure that nothing human had been found in the plateau deposits.

Mr. BROMEHEAD, who had been engaged in mapping gravel areas for some years, remarked on the difficulty of distinguishing washed deposits from those *in situ*. He had, in various parts of the country, put in dividing lines less evident than at Croxley Green; and was inclined to regard palaeolithic man as partial to gravel as a subsoil for his settlements. Drift man evidently

lived for preference on the edge of a gravel spread near a river; and Le Moustier man was approximately contemporary with the 50-ft. terrace.

Mr. DALE thought the Society was indebted to the author for the trouble taken to state the Rickmansworth problem. North of London glacial deposits were an additional complication, and the officers of the Geological Survey still seemed to have difficulty in separating the gravels. The alleged finds of implements in plateau deposits were surprising, and could not be summarily rejected. He asked whether one was obliged to believe in a single glacial period, and did glacial gravels result from marine action or from melting ice on land? The assistance of geologists had been invoked, and it was a distinct advance to think geologically, but he could not help thinking that geologists had, on the other hand, a good deal to learn from archaeological research.

Mr. SMITH expressed astonishment that any one could take offence at the wording of the summary on the notice-paper, and adhered to his opinion that the finds at Rickmansworth were 'a useful commentary on the geological map'. Implements had been found there in quantity at the base of the gravel; and excavation on the plateau away from a river-valley might throw light on the true nature of the Rickmansworth deposits. He had been unaware that a revised geological map could be consulted at Jermyn St., and would be interested to see where a line of distinction between plateau and river gravel could be drawn in Long Valley Wood. If the division were obvious, it would hardly have escaped the surveyors of the 1871 map. In dealing with such a complicated subject as the Pleistocene, geologists, he thought, would have welcomed fresh evidence from a source that had barely been tapped by their predecessors.

LAWRENCE WEAVER, Esq., F.S.A., read a paper on a Comparison of Building Prices, 1671-87; 1915. The paper was supplementary to his paper on the Accounts of Wren's City Churches, read on December 10, and will be published in *Archaeologia*, as an appendix to that paper.

Thanks were ordered to be returned for these communications.

THURSDAY, 3rd JUNE, 1915.

PHILIP NORMAN, Esq., LL.D., Vice-President, in the Chair.

The following gifts were announced, and thanks for the same ordered to be returned to the donors:

From the Author:—The Grey Friars of London, their history, with the register of their convent and an appendix of documents. By C. L. Kingsford, F.S.A. 8vo. Aberdeen, 1915.

From William Minet, Esq., M.A., Treasurer:—

1. Catalogue of works relating to the county of Surrey: Supplement, 1910.
2. Additions to works relating to the county of Surrey, 1910-1912. Minet Public Library.
3. Index to a calendar of deeds concerning the county of Surrey, in the Minet Public Library, 1914.

From the Author:—David Laing, antiquary and bibliographer. By David Murray, LL.D. 4to. Glasgow, 1915.

The following were admitted Fellows:

The Rev. James Davenport, M.A.

Henry Dyke Acland, Esq.

This being an evening appointed for the election of Fellows, no papers were read.

Lt.-Col. G. B. CROFT LYONS exhibited the Carew ruby.

The stone is not an oriental ruby but a spinel, termed by jewellers a 'balais' or 'balas' ruby. It is of irregular shape, bored through from end to end: weight $133\frac{1}{2}$ carats; length $1\frac{5}{8}$ in.; width $\frac{7}{8}$ in. It was bought in Teheran, from a dealer, by name Richard, by Mr. Charles Alison, the British minister, who brought it to England about 1870. He gave it to his niece, Lady Carew's mother, who gave it to Lady Carew on her marriage.

The ruby is engraved in Persian characters with the names and titles of the four great Mogul Emperors of India: (1) Akbar Shah, founder of the Mogul Empire; (2) his son Jehangir, signed Shah Akbar Jehangir Shah, 1021 [A.D. 1612]; (3) his son Shah Jehan, indicated by the title Sahib Quiran (Kiran) Sani [Second Lord of the Conjunction], 1039 [A.D. 1629]; and (4) Aurangzeb (1658-1707), signed Alamgir [Lord of the Earth] Shah, 1070 [A.D. 1659].

In 1739 Nadir Shah, King of Persia, invaded India, looted the

treasure-house at Delhi, and probably carried the ruby to Persia. It was stolen from the Royal treasury at Teheran, either on Nadir Shah's murder at Khorassan in 1747, or on some subsequent occasion of disturbance, when jewels have disappeared from the Persian treasury.

The balas rubies differ from the oriental ruby in hardness, chemical composition, crystalline form, and specific gravity. They may be easily distinguished by their hardness. Thus the latter is the hardest of all stones with the exception of the diamond, its hardness being 9 on the mineralogical scale of hardness, whilst the spinel has only a hardness of 8.

The oriental ruby consists chiefly of alumina, about 98.5 per cent., with very small amounts of magnesia and lime; the spinel, on the other hand, contains only about 67 per cent. of alumina, the remainder being magnesia, about 26–27 per cent., with trifling proportions of silica, &c. Two other examples of balas rubies, with names engraved upon them, are recorded in *Bristowe's Glossary of Mineralogy*. In a manuscript history of Cashmere (1830) one of the size of a pigeon's egg is mentioned as being once in the possession of the Oude family. There was a flaw in it, and to hide it a name was engraved over it. A similar stone to this, but considerably larger, was in the possession of Rungit Sing, and has the names of five emperors engraved upon it.

PHILIP NORMAN, Esq., LL.D., Vice-President, exhibited a copy of a tapestry map of London and neighbourhood by William Sheldon.

The ballot opened at 8.45 p.m. and closed at 9.30 p.m., when the following were declared elected Fellows of the Society:

Luke Gerald Dillon, Esq.

William Hammond, Esq., M.D.

Joscelyn Plunket Bushe-Fox, Esq.

Thomas Henry Fosbrooke, Esq.

Alfred Billson, Esq.

Richard Cyril Lockett, Esq.

Walter Hindes Godfrey, Esq.

THURSDAY, 10th JUNE, 1915.

Sir ARTHUR JOHN EVANS, Knt., D.Litt., F.R.S.,
President, in the Chair.

The following gifts were announced, and thanks for the same ordered to be returned to the donors :

From the Author :—Roman Britain in 1914. By Professor F. Haverfield. London. 1915.

From the Author, Rev. J. M. J. Fletcher :—

1. A Dorset worthy, William Stone, Royalist and divine, 1615-1685. 8vo. Dorchester, 1915.
2. Guide to Tideswell and its church. Sixth edition. 8vo. Tideswell, 1915.

From the Author :—Flint finds in connexion with sand. By Reginald A. Smith, F.S.A. 8vo. London, 1914.

From Hilary Jenkinson, Esq., B.A., F.S.A. :—English court-hand, 1066-1500. Text and plates. By Charles Johnson, M.A., and Hilary Jenkinson, B.A., F.S.A. 8vo and 4to. Oxford. 1915.

Alfred Billson, Esq., was admitted a Fellow.

The PRESIDENT exhibited a gold ring of William Whittlesey, Archbishop of Canterbury (*ob.* 1374), inscribed inside with his name.

Sir WILLIAM ST. JOHN HOPE, Litt.D., D.C.L., read a paper on recent discoveries in the abbey church of St. Augustine at Canterbury, which will be published in *Archaeologia*.

Excavations carried out by the authorities of St. Augustine's College had recently brought to light beneath the area of the tower, transepts, and eastern part of the nave, the foundation of a building of remarkable plan, including a central circular area about 25 ft. in diameter, enclosed by a ring of eight massive piers 8½ ft. thick, with an outer ambulatory 6 ft. wide, surrounded by a wall, circular within and octagonal without, the whole having a total width of 64½ ft. Originally, this building was attached on the west to the early Saxon church begun by King Ethelbert in 598, while to the east was King Eadbald's oratory of our Lady, with a door of entrance into it. This building must be identical with that recorded to have been begun by Abbot Wulfric in 1056, but left unfinished at his death in 1059. Shortly after 1070 it was pulled down, together with the oratory, by Abbot Scotland. To the west of the octagon had been found parts of an earlier work than that of Wulfric, with the remains of an apse. These

might have formed part of a reconstruction and enlargement, known hitherto only by a record of its re-dedication by Archbishop Dunstan in 978.

Still further west there had been laid open the site of the actual *porticus* or aisle in which St. Augustine and his five immediate successors as archbishop were recorded to have been buried. The area was largely encroached upon by the sleeper wall of the arcade of the Norman church, but along the line of the original north wall there still remained the tombs of archbishops Laurence, Mellitus, and Justus. The contents of these and all the other tombs in the chapel were translated into the new presbytery in 1091, but it was possible to see into the interior of the tombs of Laurence and Justus. Owing to the peculiar manner in which these had been constructed, by pouring semi-fluid cement over the wooden coffins until completely covered, the interiors were practically casts of the coffins, which it was possible consequently to reconstruct as models.

It was to be hoped that further excavation would bring to light similar remains of the *porticus* of St. Martin on the south side of the church, and that it might be possible to recover more of the plan of King Ethelbert's church and further traces of its enlargement in the tenth century.

Bishop BROWNE was glad to be the first to thank Sir William Hope for his account of a most interesting piece of archaeological work, which took one back to the days of St. Augustine. Thanks to the excavations and Gocelin's history of the abbey-church, everything worked out admirably. The story of St. Augustine's body waiting outside the church came from Bede (*Eccl. Hist.*, ii. 3), but the passage had been wrongly translated in Bohn's edition.¹ There being no more room in the *porticus*, Theodore was buried outside in the church. Hadrian, who was twice pressed to become archbishop, was the first to institute university lectures in England. He had doubts about Gocelin's story of St. Mildred's remains being brought from Sheppey: the relics in question were only supposed to be those of the saint. It had fallen to him to help in the purchase of the field which had now been excavated. The building of Wulfric reminded him of San Giovanni Battista,² and the similarity of plan gave an added interest to the new discovery. The abbot got leave to build from the Pope at Rheims; and it was a coincidence that at the time of the St. Augustine celebration there was a move-

¹ Plummer's edition, ii. 80: the altar of St. Gregory was in the middle of the side-chapel (*porticus*), not of the church.

² A chapel behind St. Peter's at Rome, founded by Pope Leo III (795-816).

ment to celebrate at Rheims the baptism of Clovis, but the latter function was vetoed by the Republic.

The SUB-WARDEN of St. Augustine's College said that all at present discovered had been clearly described in the paper. Wulfric saw the Pope at Rheims, where the latter had gone to consecrate the church of St. Remy. The College was much indebted to Sir William Hope for his practical interest in the work, and it was to be hoped that the domestic buildings of the hospital would not permanently block the way to further excavations.

Rev. G. M. LIVETT had on the previous day spent an hour on the site and recommended Fellows of the Society to see the excavations for themselves. They would find that adequate measures had been taken to preserve the interesting masonry brought to light. He directed attention to the materials used, and pointed out that Wulfric's building was of Wealden stone. Other stones under the bases appeared to have come from the London clay; and the economic side of building in those early times would certainly repay study.

The SECRETARY said there was much of interest in the paper that could not be touched on in the discussion. The work was hardly half-way through, and a complete plan of that early church would not be possible till the exploration was complete. There was nothing to compare with it in England, though Roman bricks were used also at St. Martin's and St. Pancras. The apse clearly belonged to Dunstan's church, but its exact relation to the whole was not at present clear, and it was possible that three apses were added by Dunstan.

The PRESIDENT remarked that the discoveries led up to the sources of Christianity in England and were of supreme interest. The form of the original wooden coffins was clearly related to the late Roman sarcophagus, and gave an additional link with Italy. It was devoutly to be wished that the remains of so early a church would be followed up to the end, even at the expense of an adjoining wash-house. He was specially attracted by the round building, which had all the appearance of a baptistery: but if so, why was it not alluded to as such in any of the documents? That and other questions would no doubt be settled later, and meanwhile the Society was sincerely grateful to Sir William Hope for his work in explanation of the remains.

Sir WILLIAM HOPE replied that the baptistery question was

not a serious one, as the building was never finished: it was known as the 'new work', a non-committal term that gave no clue to its purpose.

E. C. R. ARMSTRONG, Esq., F.S.A., a Local Secretary for Ireland, communicated the following paper on the localities and distribution of the various types of bronze celts in the National Museum, Dublin:

The National Museum, Dublin, contains a large collection of bronze celts of various types (over fifteen hundred, including those in the collection of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland, on loan to the Museum), and it occurred to the writer that an examination of these, with a view to ascertaining the localities in which they had been found, and their distribution in Ireland, might lead to interesting results, and assist in bringing forward certain problems for solution. For this purpose the celts were divided into five types as follows: (*a*) flat celts; (*b*) celts with side flanges and stop-ridges; (*c*) palstaves; (*d*) winged celts, and to these were added for convenience a few flanged celts without stop-ridges; and (*e*) socketed celts.

Before proceeding further, it must be admitted that the results of the examination did not fulfil the writer's hopes, for the reason that comparatively few celts were found to have the places of their discovery recorded. Of type *a* only fifty-one proved to have localities, of type *b* thirty-eight, of type *c* thirty-five, of type *d* nineteen (in all), and of type *e* eighty-six.

Not very much is to be learned from the distribution of such a small number of objects, especially when the results obtained are liable to be upset by further finds, or the publication of statistics from other collections. For this reason, only a few general remarks are added as to the conclusions to be drawn from the distribution of the celts.

The number of celts with localities might have been swelled by obtaining lists from other curators and collectors of Irish antiquities, but the writer did not care to include any object he had not himself seen, and it will be a comparatively simple matter for others, using the present lists and maps as a basis, to add to them.

The labour of searching the various museum registers, catalogues, &c., for the registration numbers and localities of the celts was very considerable, and it is quite possible that the writer may have missed a few celts with localities, but on the whole he believes the account may be taken as representative of the local distribution of the celts preserved in the Irish National Museum on the 2nd of November, 1914.

Disappointing though the results proved, the writer thought

it well to present them to the Society, hoping that they may stimulate similar researches among other collections of Irish antiquities, and that in the future some archaeologist may be able to gather the results together and put forward a series of facts to assist in the elucidation of the many obscurities that at present surround the history of early metal-working in Ireland.

Copper celts have been omitted from the present survey, these having been dealt with by Mr. George Coffey.¹ No use has been made of Mr. O. G. S. Crawford's list² of flat copper and bronze celts, because, in the writer's opinion, the Copper period, though it may have been comparatively short, was nevertheless long enough to allow of a progressive development taking place within the copper series, and it would seem that the flat copper celts must be earlier than those of bronze. Also Mr. Crawford's definition of a flat celt was not quite clear to the writer.

The localities and distribution of the celts examined appear to be as follows:

(a) *Flat celts* (fig. 1). Recorded localities for fifty-one of these have been found. One is from the Shannon fords, the remainder are distributed among twenty-five of the thirty-two Irish counties. Mayo heads the list with seven, but three of these come from one place, being apparently found together, so they might be considered as a hoard. Kerry and Donegal, with five each, come next, four being found together in Kerry and three in Donegal; Londonderry has four celts with localities; Dublin, Fermanagh, and Leitrim account for three celts apiece. Down and Galway have two each, and the remaining counties represented, one for each. No celts are recorded from Antrim, Armagh, Roscommon, King's Co., Queen's Co., Kilkenny, or Waterford. The celt described as from Keelogue ford was found between the counties of Galway and Tipperary. The provincial distribution does not lead to any startling results, seventeen celts having been found in Ulster, thirteen in Connaught, eleven in Leinster, and nine in Munster.

It is not possible to say how long flat bronze celts may have continued in use in Ireland after the introduction of the later flanged, winged, and socketed forms; but if, as is generally assumed, they may be considered as representing the earliest period of the true Bronze Age, it might be concluded from their distribution that the use of metal objects was fairly spread over the island at this period.

(b) *Flanged celts, with stop-ridges* (fig. 2). Thirty-eight celts of this type have localities, one was found at Keelogue ford, the remainder are distributed among twenty-one counties. All the

¹ *Journal Royal Anthropological Institute*, vol. xxxi, p. 265.

² *Geographical Journal*, vol. 40 (July to December), p. 314.

celts with flanges and stop-ridges are included in this type: some with a very slight development of these features must be placed at the beginning of the evolution-series, while others belong to quite the end, so doubtless there are considerable variations in date between them. It seemed, however, most convenient for distribution purposes to treat them as one class.

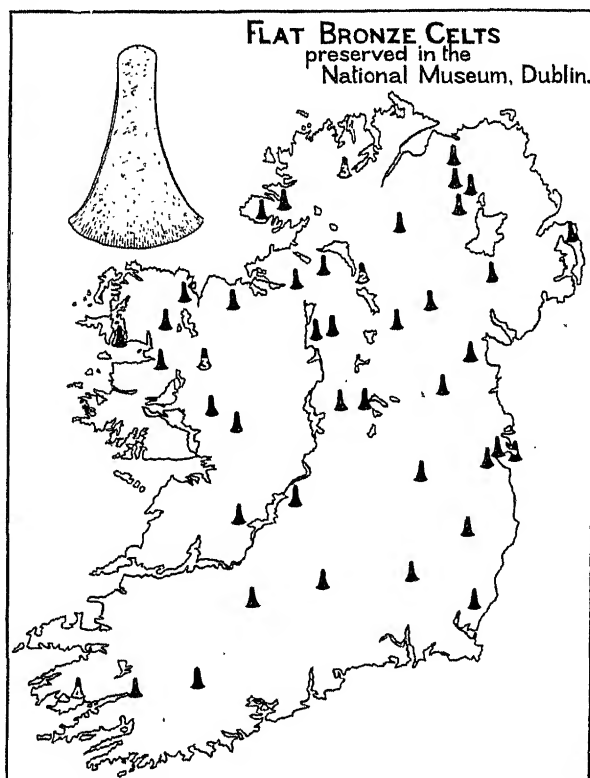


Fig. 1. DISTRIBUTION OF FLAT CELTS.

Westmeath and Antrim with four celts each head the list; Fermanagh and Limerick have three each; Cork, Kildare, Londonderry, Mayo, Meath, and Queen's Co., two; and the remaining counties represented, one each. No celts are recorded from Monaghan, Leitrim, Sligo, Roscommon, Waterford, Clare, Wexford, Wicklow, King's Co., Longford, and Louth. Ulster furnishes fourteen, Leinster thirteen, Munster seven, and Connaught only three.

(c) *Palstaves*(fig.3). Thirty-five palstaves have been found with

recorded localities. Of these, six come from the Shannon fords, the remaining twenty-nine are split up among nineteen counties. Galway accounts for three; two in each case are recorded from Armagh, Clare, Fermanagh, Kilkenny, King's Co., Longford, Mayo, and Roscommon; while Londonderry, Donegal, Antrim, Cavan, Sligo, Cork, Tipperary, Kildare, Westmeath, and Meath

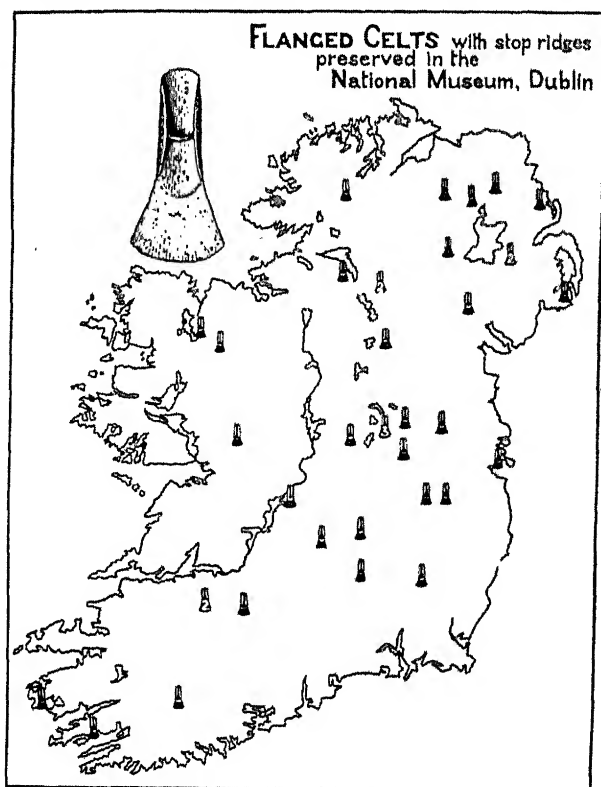


Fig. 2. DISTRIBUTION OF FLANGED CELTS WITH STOP-RIDGES.

have one each. The celts are very evenly divided among three provinces—Ulster, Connaught, and Leinster, the first two having eight each and the latter nine. Munster has only four.

(d) *Winged celts, and celts with flanges but no stop-ridges* (fig. 4). It was hardly to be expected that the number of winged celts, either in the collection or with localities, would be large, as this type is more characteristic of the Continent than the British Isles.

The writer has found thirteen winged celts with localities.

Of these, four come from Co. Antrim, three from Sligo, two from Fermanagh, and one from Cork, Dublin, Galway, and Tyrone. Examples having thus been found in all the four provinces, it appears that though the type was rare, it was not confined to any one district.

The flanged celts without stop-ridges are very unsatisfactory to

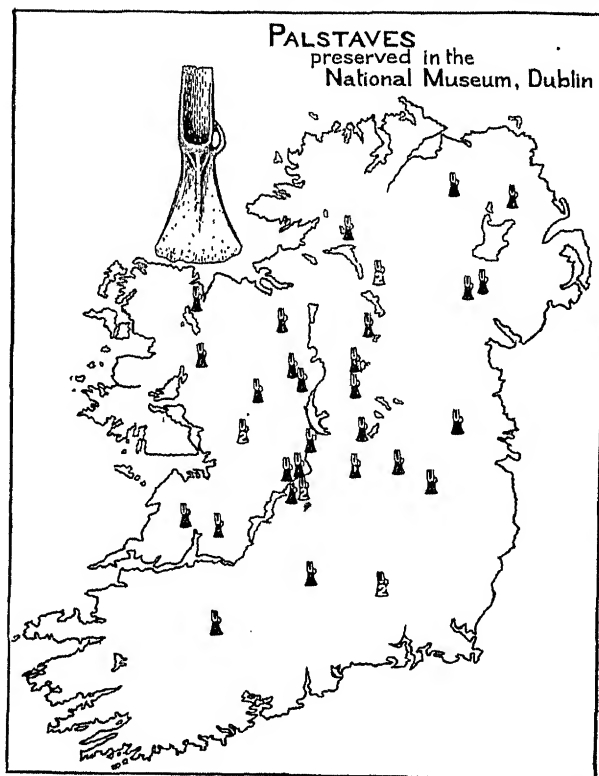


Fig. 3. DISTRIBUTION OF PALSTAVES.

classify, as they are so dissimilar in type: some, as the examples from Londonderry, Galway, and Tyrone, are little more than flat celts with slightly raised edges, while other examples have finely developed flanges. Only six celts of this type have recorded localities, and of these, four come from Ulster, one from Connaught, and one from the Shannon fords.

(e) *Socketed celts* (fig. 5). This type is common in Ireland, and the writer has found eighty-six with recorded localities. Six of these come from the River Shannon or its fords, while the remain-

ing eighty are distributed among twenty-three counties. No less than eleven were found in Co. Cavan, nine in Westmeath, and seven in Co. Antrim. Fermanagh has produced five, Armagh, Meath, Tipperary, and Clare four each. Three are, in each case, attributed to Cork, Kildare, Londonderry, Monaghan, Tyrone, and Wexford; while Donegal, Down, King's

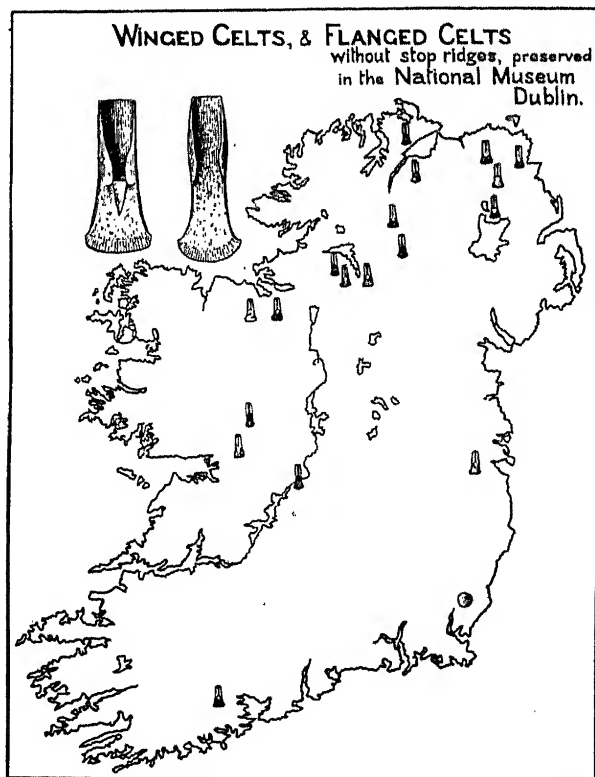


Fig. 4. DISTRIBUTION OF WINGED CELTS AND FLANGED CELTS WITHOUT STOP-RIDGES.

Co., Limerick, and Sligo have two each, one being recorded from Galway, Longford, Mayo, and Queen's Co. The provincial distribution of these celts gives an interesting result, as no less than forty come from Ulster and twenty-three from Leinster. Munster has thirteen, and Connaught only four. Perhaps it may be permissible to conclude from this that in late Bronze Age times, as at present, the wealthiest and most progressive portion of the population was situated in the northern and eastern part

of the island. Connaught appears to have been either thinly populated or in a backward condition. It is difficult to apportion the celts found in the Shannon fords, but some probably belong to Munster, which would add a few to that province.

The maps that have been prepared show the distribution of the celts.¹

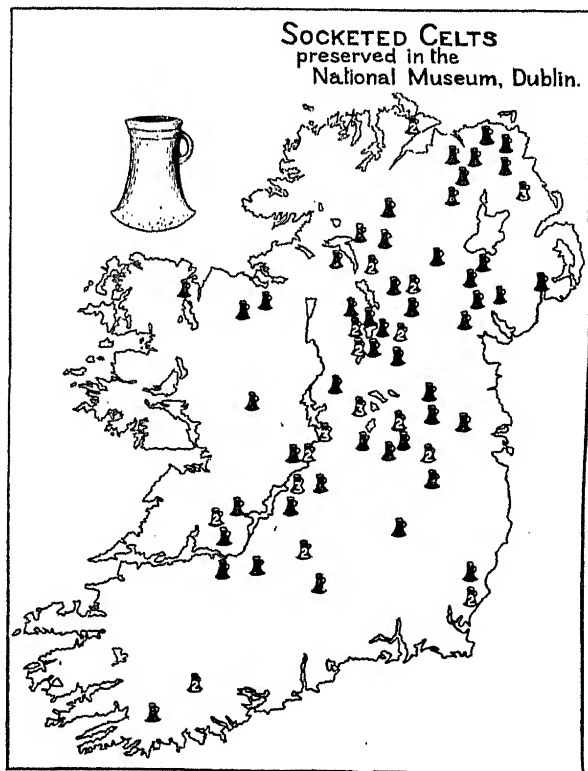


Fig. 5. DISTRIBUTION OF SOCKETED CELTS.

WILSON CREWDSON, Esq., M.A., F.S.A., exhibited an alabaster table representing the Adoration of the Three Kings. The table measures 17 in. by 10 in.

Our Lady, in gown and mantle, crowned and holding the infant Saviour, reclines upon a couch, on which she is supported by two cushions. The couch has a canopied head, on which is

¹ A schedule giving the localities as far as known of all the celts in the National Museum has been published.

represented the star. Our Lord touches with his left hand a cup which is being handed to him by the first king, Balthazar, who stands before him with bended knee. He holds his crown in his left hand and wears a girded tunic, mantle, and hood. The other two kings stand behind—Melchior carries a box containing the



ALABASTER TABLE REPRESENTING THE ADORATION OF THE KINGS ($\frac{1}{2}$).

frankincense, and wears a long gown; Caspar holds the vessel of myrrh and is dressed in a similar costume to Balthazar. Both these figures are nimbed and wear their crowns. Below to the left is Joseph, seated and holding a crutched staff, while in the middle of the base are the ox and the ass feeding from the manger.

There are considerable remains of colour and gilding. The hair, beards, and eyes of the figures are black, the hair of our

Lord showing as well traces of gilding. The shoes of our Lady, Joseph's staff, the lower of the two cushions and the top of the canopy are also black. The linings of the mantles and gowns, the lips of some of the figures, parts of the canopy, and Joseph's chair are red. The nimbuses are red and black. Ermine spots are painted on the inside of the canopy-hanging (the outside apparently was gilded) and on the hoods of two of the kings. The ox is red and the ass brown. The foreground is green, with the usual groups of spots; the background has been gold, and there are traces of gilding on many of the figures.

Two very similar tables were included in the exhibition held in the Society's rooms in 1910 (see *Catalogue of the Alabaster Exhibition*, nos. 22 and 28).

Mr. CREWDSON also exhibited and presented to the Society's collection an Italian Wafering-Iron of the fifteenth century (see Mr. Hildburgh's paper, above, p. 193).

Thanks were ordered to be returned for these communications and exhibitions.

THURSDAY, 17th JUNE, 1915.

Sir ARTHUR JOHN EVANS, Knt., D.Litt., F.R.S.,
President, in the Chair.

The following gifts were announced, and thanks for the same ordered to be returned to the donors:

From the Author :—Memorials and monuments. By Lawrence Weaver. 8vo. London, 1915.

From Ralph Griffin, Esq., F.S.A. :—The academy of armory. By Randle Holme. Second volume (containing books III and IV). Edited for the Roxburghe Club by I. H. Jeayes. fol. London, 1905.

A special vote of thanks was passed to Mr. Griffin for his gift to the Library.

The following were admitted Fellows:

Richard Cyril Lockett, Esq., J.P.

Willoughby Gardner, Esq.

William Hammond, Esq., M.D.

Joscelyn Plunket Bushe-Fox, Esq.

Major Edward Mansel Simpson, M.A., M.D.

Professor F. HAVERFIELD, LL.D., F.S.A., read a paper on the Towns of Roman Britain.

The paper was an attempt to sum up the towns of Roman Britain, as named below, so far as they were now, very imperfectly and unevenly, known to us, in respect of (i) elements earlier than the conquest of A.D. 43; (ii) Roman beginnings, official and other; (iii) character of the towns—size, planning, and streets, buildings, language, civilization, and wealth, and relation to adjacent country-side; (iv) the end of Romano-British towns; there being few survivals, parallels had to be sought rather in Pannonia and Africa than in the Western Empire generally.

The towns dealt with were: Colchester, Lincoln, Gloucester, York (*coloniae*); Verulam (*municipium*); London, Bath, Canterbury, Rochester, Chichester, Winchester, Silchester, Dorchester (Dorset), Exeter, Caistor-by-Norwich, Chesterford, Leicester, Aldborough, Cirencester, Caerwent, Kenchester, and Wroxeter.

Sir WILLIAM HOPE referred to the laying-out of towns after houses had been built on the site. Mr. Fox might have expressed himself differently years ago, but the speaker had, in his last report on Silchester (*Archaeologia*, lxii, 320), pointed out that the lines of houses had undoubtedly been altered on account of a subsequent laying-out in *insulae*, and one large house was found with an entire wing altered, from an acute to a right angle with the street. An important distinction between town and country houses was that the latter had a set of baths attached, whereas in Silchester only one building (called the *hospitium*) had private baths, a fine set being available for public use in the town. Archaeologists at Colchester insisted that the present walls indicated a reduction in the area of the town, the walls standing on remains of earlier houses. He agreed that the people spoke Latin, and quoted in support of that view the discovery at Silchester of a tile inscribed with the word *satis*.

Mr. BUSHE-FOX said that one of the earliest houses at Silchester was built of wattle-and-daub: the earliest at Wroxeter were all of that material, and there were probably no large houses on that site before A.D. 43. He knew of no pre-Roman building in the country, and Tacitus described the dwellings as of clay, shining like gold. He was not convinced that the language of Roman Britain was Latin, but considered the evidence insufficient. In all the excavations the amount of inscribed pottery was small, and none dated before the Roman conquest.

The inhabitants were probably uneducated, and taught by the Romans to write and speak Latin. Inscriptions on tiles did not prove that conversation was carried on in Latin.

Major FREER held that Leicester was walled on the Jewry Wall side, as Roman walling had been found on the south of, and in the same line with, that fragment. A plain pavement had also been found between the mosaic under the Great Central railway and the river.

The PRESIDENT thought the paper an interesting review of town-types belonging to two or three categories; and was especially attracted by the material extracted from the Ravenna geographer. He had always thought it a likely source of information, the forms used being apparently corruptions of the local names. The country towns marked green on the slide corresponded to county towns, where a basilica and offices were erected for use by the surrounding area. Had it not been for the Saxon conquest, a tendency noticed in Gaul might have spread to Britain; and just as Lutetia Parisiorum became Paris, so Calleva Atrebatum might have become Arras, and there might have been a Paris in Yorkshire. Durovernum Cantuarum did in fact become Cantwarabyrig, preserving the tribal rather than the place-name.

Professor HAVERFIELD replied that he had not intended to represent every British townsman as speaking and writing Latin during the Roman period; though it was evident that some of the labouring class were capable of doing both.

MESSRS. R. DICKESON & SONS exhibited, through Canon Livett, F.S.A., a Local Secretary for Kent, a sculptured head of the Roman period, recently discovered at Dover.

Canon LIVETT said that the fragment of sculpture was found under Messrs. Dickeson's property in Market Lane, Dover, some 10 ft. or 11 ft. below the present ground-level, in the heart of a wall some 6 ft. or 7 ft. thick, which had been cut through without reaching its full depth. The wall ran approximately east and west, parallel to the axis of the destroyed church of St. Mary le Grand, and 50 yds. or more to the south of it—roughly parallel to the southern or sea-wall of the Roman town, and about 150 yds. to the north of it. The wall consisted largely of pieces of tufa, both wrought and rough, and flint. The mortar was poor and small in amount. It was faced on the north with squared blocks of chalk laid in courses with large joints. On the south side it had no facing-stones, but ap-

peared to have been built rough against a deposit which contained a considerable quantity of sherds of Samian and other Roman ware, a coin of *Philippus Aug.*, bricks stamped CL BR, bits of oolitic stone, and patches of charcoal. It sloped down from its top, about 1 ft. under the ground level, till it thinned out about 23 ft. from its foot. This Roman deposit, as it had



ROMAN SCULPTURED HEAD FROM DOVER ($\frac{1}{2}$).

been called, was overlaid by a remarkable deposit of fine blown sand, which at various times had been found at a considerable distance south and south-east of this spot. From the sand one fragment of Samian ware had been recovered. It seemed necessary to infer that the wall at this spot had been built up against a mound of Roman rubbish which was partly cut away for the purpose. It was cut through again some 25 ft. to the west of this spot, where the southern face was found similarly rough, but between it and the Roman deposit to the south there was earth and later building-rubbish. He had examined the site,

but for most of the information he was indebted to the foreman supervising the alterations to the premises, and to a local enthusiast, Mr. Eugene Amos, photographer, Snargate St., Dover. Could the wall possibly be a late and hastily built Roman work, and could it have formed the southern boundary of the property granted to the monks of St. Martin at the time of their removal from Castle Hill into the city by Wihtred at the end of the seventh century? A watchful eye should be kept upon diggings in Dover, in the hope of discovering further traces of it. The head would seem to be Roman work, but that matter he would leave to Roman experts. He hoped the head would find a permanent home in the Dover Museum,¹ which also contained a mutilated Roman figure, 4 ft. high, draped about the lower limbs, sculptured in oolite, which had been exhumed on the site of the Carlton Club in the year 1887.

Professor HAVERFIELD had submitted photographs of the carving to two colleagues, one of whom regarded it as clearly not Roman and perhaps a copy of the eighteenth century, on the ground that no Roman ever carved hair or moustaches in that manner. The other was certain of its Roman date, as there was no resemblance to medieval or later work. He had himself come to the conclusion that the carving was Roman but peculiar. The arrangement of the hair resembled that on certain Roman helmets, and might have been copied from such a bronze.

Thanks were ordered to be returned for this communication and exhibition.

THURSDAY, 24th JUNE, 1915.

The Rt. Rev. Bishop GEORGE FORREST BROWNE, D.D.,
D.C.L., Vice-President, in the Chair.

The following gifts were announced, and thanks for the same ordered to be returned to the donors:

From the Author :—The evolution of the potter's art. By Thomas Sheppard. 4to. London, 1915.

From the Author :—On certain carvings in Saffron Walden church. By Rev. G. M. Benton. 8vo. Colchester, 1914.

From A. W. Gould, Esq., F.S.A. :—

1. A walk round Dorchester. By J. Criswick. 8vo. Dorchester, 1820.

¹ Messrs. Dickeson have since presented the head to the Dover Museum.

2. A popular guide to St. Peter's church, Dorchester. By Rev. A. Metcalf. 8vo. Dorchester, 1907.
3. Dorchester antiquities. By H. J. Moule. 8vo. Dorchester, 1901.
4. The history of Dorchester. By James Savage. 12mo. Dorchester, 1833.
5. Dorchester: its ancient and modern history. By E. W. Young. 8vo. Dorchester and London, 1886.

From Ralph Griffin, Esq., F.S.A.:—A collection of 850 photographs of the bosses and shields in the cloisters of Canterbury Cathedral.

From Philip Norman, Esq., LL.D., Vice-President:—A mezzotint portrait of Martin Folkes, President.

Walter Hindes Godfrey, Esq., was admitted a Fellow.

RALPH GRIFFIN, Esq., F.S.A., read a paper on the Heraldry in the cloisters of the Cathedral church at Canterbury, which will be printed in *Archaeologia*.

The rebuilding of the nave of the cathedral at the close of the fourteenth century necessitated the reconstruction of the cloisters, which was completed about 1412. The most munificent benefactor was Archbishop Courtenay, who contributed the cost of the whole of the south walk, and whose arms appeared frequently upon the shields on the roof. Another benefactor was brother John Schepene, who contributed with the aid of his friends £100, and whose figure in Benedictine habit with an inscription recording his gift appeared on one of the shields. In all there were on the vault of the cloisters 825 armorial bosses. The earliest extant description of the arms was in a MS. (Harl. 1366) by Richard Scarlett, 1599, and another manuscript description of the same date was in the Society's library. There were also descriptions in some manuscript church-notes by Philipot. The only printed description was that contained in Willement's *Heraldic Notices of Canterbury Cathedral* (1827), a work which had been severely criticized, but which on the whole appeared for its date to be a wonderful record.

With regard to the heraldry, the great bosses in many cases bore the badges of the benefactors, amongst them the elephant-and-castle badge of the Beaumonts, and the eagle-and-child crest of the Stanleys. The coats of arms were all those of subscribers to the work, and numbered among them the arms of almost all the royal and noble families of the country, as well as those of the more humble yeoman families of the neighbourhood and of the city of Canterbury. The whole constituted one of the richest collections of medieval arms now known to us.

Sir WILLIAM HOPE thought the Society was deeply indebted to the author for a wonderful display of medieval heraldry, the

series being almost the largest in the country, and difficult to parallel elsewhere. He himself had been privileged to see the photographs previously, and had derived much pleasure and profit from their study. It seemed clear that the cloister was built by public subscription, and in one of the registers of Christ Church, Canterbury, was a subscription list for the greater part of the nave. The discovery of a similar list for the cloister would clear up many points of heraldry, which would not have arisen if the bosses had been painted and remained in that condition. Seals, again, might throw light on the subject; and he was glad to say the Public Record Office was following the example of the British Museum and preparing a catalogue of its seal-impressions. On the 'pillars of Hercules' shield were feathers with a chain along the quills, and that badge was borne by two individuals. The first was possibly Edmund of Langley, afterwards Duke of York, but it is certain that his eldest son Edward, later Duke of York, bore the badge: it was a question whether the boss referred to the latter. It was difficult to explain the prominence given to the shield with a lion rampant. Edward, as first Earl of Rutland and later Duke of Albemarle, was also Constable of the Tower, Constable of England, and Warden of the Cinque Ports; and the boss with castle and shield with a lion had two feathers with a chain along the quills, and in the lower part a leopard of England within a crown: all of which would be in keeping. His mother was a daughter of Pedro of Castile, and it was a common thing in the Middle Ages for officers of the crown to bear the royal leopard. The only alternative to the Duke of Albemarle was Richard, Duke of York, born 1413; but he was ruled out by the date assigned to the cloister (not later than 1412). The speaker deprecated the use of the term ducal crown in connexion with the bosses, for as late as the fifteenth century there was no recognized pattern for such a crown. At one time the cloister was covered with a coat of whitewash, and its present condition did not inspire confidence. The Dean and Chapter would do well to follow the example of Westminster and apply a coat of coloured lime-wash, which would arrest decay and preserve the carvings for many years.

REV. E. E. DORLING added his acknowledgements to the author, and commented on two remarkable and interesting examples of canting heraldry—the *cols-de-cygne* of Colley, and the *musca* of Muschamps. The Society would recognize the immense amount of time and trouble spent on the paper.

MR. BARRON remarked that Mr. Griffin had done the work once and for all, in the only manner approved by the Society.

Even if the authorities preferred not to 'preserve' the carvings, it was a satisfaction to know they were all recorded. It was a remarkable addition to the rolls of arms, and one that covered a period in which the Society was weak. Its most surprising feature was the number of people commemorated who were of no particular importance. Besides the great families, there were included a number of country squires and citizens of Canterbury. A shield covered with feathers had a chess-rook in one quarter: the piece was evidently made so as to stand firm, and was the ordinary form down to the days of Caxton. The feathers occurred in German and Swiss heraldry, but not to his knowledge in England, with one exception: a shield in a pen-and-ink roll of the late fifteenth century had feathers as the only charge (Middleham in Coverdale).

The DEAN OF CANTERBURY was glad of the opportunity of expressing to Mr. Griffin the gratitude of the Chapter, not only for his illuminating work on the cloisters but also for a set of the photographs to be preserved in the Cathedral library. He was encouraged by the success of that medieval public subscription to draw attention to the need of another for the repair of the cathedral. The third instalment of the work had been completed and paid for before the outbreak of the war, and there was a sum of £400 in hand. Lime-washing as a remedy for decaying stonework did not appeal to him at first glance, as the method hitherto adopted was that approved by Sir Thomas Jackson and the late Sir Arthur Church. Spraying with a solution had hardened the stone and prevented a lot of cutting out; but he would consider the suggestion, and bring it to the notice of the cathedral architect, Mr. Caröe.

The CHAIRMAN recalled the fact that Courtenay had given large sums to the cathedral during his lifetime, and with the King headed the subscription list for repairing the nave. Simon of Sudbury, who was subsequently beheaded on Tower Hill, formed the plan on which Courtenay and Fitzarundel worked. It was his pleasing duty to express the thanks of the meeting to Mr. Griffin for the entertaining manner in which he had laid the results of his labours before the Society.

A. O. CURLE, Esq., F.S.A., a Local Secretary for Scotland, subsequently forwarded the following report:—

The most important archaeological work carried on in Scotland since my last report was contributed, has been the excavation conducted by the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland on

Traprain Law, a prominent hill in East Lothian, on the estate of the Right Hon. A. J. Balfour. The hill has an altitude of 710 ft. over sea-level, and of 360 ft. from base to summit. Its main axis, which lies north-east to south-west, has a length of over half a mile, and its bisecting axis from 300 yds. to 400 yds. Nature, by the formation of almost precipitous crags along the south-east flank has given the hill notable defensive advantages, and supplementary to these there has been erected a rampart of earth faced on either side with stone, running from one end of the crags to the other, and including in a wide sweep a broad grassy haunch that lies facing to the south and south-west. On a natural plateau that breaks across the slope of this part of the hill there was explored last year an area extending only to about one-seventh of an acre, but the relics it yielded were quite incommensurate with its extent. In a depth of soil amounting at most to about 4 ft. three general levels of occupation were successively revealed, and on a restricted area, between the lowest and second of these levels, two more. The lowest level afforded considerably more evidence of occupation than any of the others both in the discoloration of the soil and the yield of relics. It produced much native hand-made pottery, formed of unrefined clay containing many pebbles, and practically without ornamentation of any kind, and in addition fragments of some twelve vessels of *terra sigillata* as well as a number of pieces of unglazed Roman pottery. Among the former certain sherds were identifiable as late first century in character, while a denarius of Hadrian probably carries the occupation of this earliest period well into the second century. The general character of the Roman pottery of the second level was Antonine, and from the upper of the two intermediate levels just beneath it came a denarius of Antoninus Pius. On this Antonine level the remains of Roman pottery were little less numerous than on the lowest stratum, but the amount of native pottery showed a marked diminution. On the highest level native pottery was rare, but, though all relics were scarce, sherds of Roman wares were turned up representing some twenty-seven pots. Some of these were recognized as of fourth-century date, notably the bung-shaped base of a vessel of buff ware coated with a chocolate-tinted slip, analogous to an example found at Pevensey,¹ and a portion of a flange of light tile-red coloured ware on which remain traces of a thin black slip. This fragment belonged evidently to a type of imitation Samian resembling Dragendorff 38, found in 1879 in the kilns at Sandford Farm, Littlemore, near Oxford (now preserved in the

¹ *Sussex Archaeological Collections*, vol. li, plate xv, no. 1.

Ashmolean Museum), and also found at Pevensey.¹ The fourth-century attribution of this stratum has been fully borne out by the evidence of coins found during the present summer. A single somewhat square fragment of a grey Roman globular vessel from the second level bore the only inscription found. This consisted of three letters | R | and a dash or stop, incised on the interior surface. As the letters were well spaced in the centre of the fragment the inscription was evidently complete. Other fragments of apparently the same vessel were found, and this fact, taken along with the position of the letters on the inner surface, makes it clear that the sherd had been inscribed on the hill itself. Nowhere was any evidence brought to light of a Roman occupation of the site, and the nearest known Roman fort is at Inveresk, twenty miles distant. Except for hearths, for the most part oblong-rectangular, no structural remains were laid bare. Nor was a single dressed building stone unearthed. Here and there occurred lumps of burned clay impressed with the marks of wattles, indicating the nature of the houses that formerly stood on the hill.

The relics recovered, especially from the lowest level, were numerous and distinctly native in character. They include seven bow-shaped fibulae, three of them enamelled, a disc fibula, also enamelled, resembling one recently found at Wroxeter,² and two portions of S or Dragonesque fibulae. There are four pins of bronze, among them a specimen of the hand-pin with five pellets forming the upper segment. Portions of two moulds of clay for such a pin are evidence of local manufacture and date, and the same remark applies to a shoulder-pin similar to one found at Corstopitum in 1910.³ The other objects in bronze recovered include dress-fasteners of the well-known type, with square or annular heads, and triangular loops. Glass armlets are represented by twenty-two different fragments, self-coloured yellow or white, or ornamented with opaque scrolls.

Harness mountings include five terrets, all of them ornamented with spherical bosses placed symmetrically on the circumference, also several ornamented objects of bronze with rectangular loops at the back. Among the iron objects is a fine lozenge-shaped spear-head with a well-defined mid-rib carried to the point, and a closed socket, and a small axe with wings projecting from either edge on one side in place of a socket. Both these objects are La Tène types. Besides the clay moulds mentioned above several stone moulds were found for casting

¹ *Ibid.*, vol. lii, plate ix, nos. 2 and 5.

² *Report on excavations at Wroxeter*, 1912, p. 26, fig. 10, no. 9.

³ *Report on excavations at Corstopitum*, 1910, p. 47, fig. 34.

small ingots of bronze about $3\frac{1}{2}$ in. in length, and for other objects.

Considering the small area excavated the relics are very numerous and important. They are almost all illustrated in the current volume of the *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland* for the year 1914-15.

The excavation of a broch in Skye by Countess Vincent Baillet de la Tour produced a remarkable necklace formed of fifty-nine discoid beads of amber varying in thickness from 2 to 6 mm. and in breadth from 1.2 cm. at the centre of the necklace to 7 mm. at the ends, all the beads being carefully graduated. The extreme length of the necklace is $10\frac{1}{4}$ in.

Another interesting collection of beads was found in a stone-lined grave, measuring superficially 5 ft. by 2 ft., and placed east and west, on Lord Rosebery's estate of Dalmeny. These beads, eleven in number, bear some resemblance to beads found in Anglo-Saxon graves. Among them are two blue four-lobed beads, a long segmented green bead, and small opaque barrel-shaped beads. A fragment of the hollow rim of a Roman glass bottle, the sharp fractured edges of which had been carefully ground down, was found with the beads, and had evidently been worn as one.

Both the foregoing collections of beads have been presented to the Scottish National Museum, and are illustrated in the current volume of *Proceedings* referred to above.

The Royal Commission on Ancient Monuments (Scotland) has this year issued a revised edition of the Inventory of Monuments in Berwickshire, containing numerous illustrations, including an almost complete series of plans of the prehistoric earth-works in the county.

GEORGE MACDONALD, Esq., LL.D., communicated the following report as a Local Secretary for Scotland:—

The abnormal circumstances of the year have naturally had an adverse influence on organized research, and fortune has not come to the rescue by providing any chance discoveries of moment. Here and there, however, a little progress has been made, chiefly on the line of the Roman Wall. Following up the investigation to which reference was made in my report for 1913-14, I have been able to determine the course of the Ditch accurately for two or three of the miles along which it has hitherto been most doubtful, and to bring it within measurable distance of the terminus on the Forth. Nothing quite so satisfactory has happened as the 1913 identification of the sites of the forts at Old Kilpatrick and Cadder. But evidence in favour of Kirkintilloch and Inveravon is accumulating. The Glasgow Archaeo-

logical Society's excavations at Balmuldy have perforce been brought to a conclusion, although not until a good deal of interesting information has been collected. The suite of baths outside the south-east corner of the fort proved to be in excellent preservation. They had formed no part of the original design, as one of the outside ditches of the main defence had been filled up with clay in order to provide them with a foundation.

Further north, during September, 1914, I was able to examine with the spade the remains of the large camp at Raedykes in Kincardineshire, well known from Roy's *Military Antiquities*. The hill on which it lies, though much less formidable than Roy's shading might lead one to suppose, is yet sufficiently irregular in contour to account for the peculiarities of the plan. The outline as shown by Roy proved to be in general very accurate. In particular five out of his six gates were identified, and the *tituli* that protected them reopened. The character of the site emphatically suggested that the camp had been one of those to which Hyginus would have applied the epithet *necessaria*. And there were features that seemed to indicate that the defences had been thrown up hurriedly. Wherever there was a risk of their being rushed, the ditch had been of the normal depth and had been backed by an earthen rampart of presumably the normal height. On the other hand, wherever the nature of the ground rendered approach difficult, the ditch had been a mere shallow depression, a foot or two deep, and the rampart little better than a heap of stones gathered from the surface. The only object found was a mass of iron, which had perhaps been the hub-ring of a wheel.

E. C. R. ARMSTRONG, Esq., F.S.A., subsequently communicated the following short note as a Local Secretary for Ireland:—

The period that has elapsed since my last report (vol. xxvi, p. 245) has been an uneventful one for Irish archaeology. Mr. H. C. Lawlor's examination of a megalithic grave may, however, be mentioned. This monument, locally called Granny's Grave, is close to the town of Belfast, and consists of nine chambers resembling in appearance nine conjoined dolmens, its total length being 45 ft. The first, fourth, sixth, seventh, eighth, and ninth chambers were examined, and all except the first and ninth showed traces of cremation and burial in the soil without urns. The first chamber had been disturbed previously, and the ninth showed evidence of two interments, one or possibly both having been cremation burials with urns. One cinerary urn was found inverted over cremated bones, and Professor Keith, who examined the latter, considered they were probably those of a woman of at most middle age; the urn, which is of the type

termed by Abercromby¹ 'encrusted', has been deposited in the Public Art Gallery and Museum, Belfast. The excavation is described in the *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy*, vol. xxxii, sec. C, p. 239. Borlase's *Dolmens of Ireland*, vol. i, pp. 268 and 269 may also be consulted.

A bronze dagger with a handle of oak attached by rivets has been acquired by the Royal Irish Academy for their collection in the National Museum. The dagger was found in July, 1897, in a bog in the townland of Beenatcevaun, near Castleisland, Co. Kerry, and was illustrated in the *Reliquary and Illustrated Archaeologist* (new series), vol. iii (1897), facing p. 193.

The final dispersal of the collection of antiquities, furniture, etc., formed by the late Mr. Robert Day, took place at Cork on September the 7th to 11th of this year. A few antiquities were acquired by the Royal Irish Academy for their collection, and Mr. R. S. Day and his brother presented to the Academy, as a memorial of their father, a case containing eight very fine glass beads and a glass bracelet. Five of the beads and the bracelet are figured in colours in the *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland*, vol. x, facing p. 335, i.e. nos. 1, 2, 3, 4, 7, and 8. Among the other antiquities obtained were two bronze celts, both found in Co. Cork; one is an ornamented flanged celt with a stop-ridge and the other a plain flat celt much patinated. In this connexion it may be mentioned that in rearrangement, due to the provision of another room for the Irish collections, some antiquities belonging to the Ray collection, which had been stored some time previously, were sorted out, and among them were found two bronze celts with localities; one is a flat celt stated to have been found in Co. Longford, the other is a flanged celt with a stop-ridge found at Tara, Co. Meath. These four examples can therefore be added to those given in the writer's note on the 'Distribution of Bronze Celts in the National Museum, Dublin', *ante* p. 253.

Thanks were ordered to be returned for these communications.

The Ordinary Meetings of the Society were then adjourned to Thursday, November 25th.

¹ *Bronze Age Pottery*, vol. ii, p. 53.

SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES
OF LONDON

STATEMENT OF ACCOUNT
FOR THE YEAR 1914

NOTE ON THE ACCOUNTS FOR 1914

The income for the year shows a slight falling off, due to decreases on Sale of Publications (£89), Interest on Deposit (£7), Income-tax recovered (£20, but the amount recovered in 1913 included three years on certain of our investments). The expenditure, however, more than compensates in decrease for this, the surplus, which was £4 in 1913, having risen to £342. The reason for this is a lessened expenditure on Publications (£190), Library (£19), House (£14), Official (£59), Sundries (£60), added to which the Franks scholarship (£54) was not awarded this year.

A new departure in the accounts this year is to be noted. Hitherto the repairs of each year have been charged to each year, and the amount has necessarily varied very considerably. It has now been decided to equalize this charge by allotting £150 to a Repair fund in every year, and against this fund all repairs will in future be charged. The amount was arrived at by taking the average spent on repairs during the past twelve years. One result of this change will be to enable a fairer comparison of the results of each year to be made in future.

The ideal in accounts is to reach a satisfactory balance in each year; but, in the case of a Society such as this, with no idea of hoarding, the income of each year should be made to suffice for the ordinary expenditure of each year. The balance which remains, if any, then becomes available for objects which may be described as extraordinary, and here it is the duty of the Finance Committee to consider which among such objects have the prior claim. This duty the Finance Committee has already taken in hand.

The usual valuation of stocks, as on December 31, is omitted this year, seeing that under present conditions it would be both useless and misleading.

WILLIAM MINET,

Treasurer.

INCOME AND EXPENDITURE ACCOUNT

INCOME.

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Subscriptions	1933	1	0			
„ unpaid	29	8	0			
				1962	9	0
Admissions	273	0	0			
Less $\frac{1}{2}$ to Research Fund	54	12	0			
				218	8	0
Dividends	850	10	11			
„ from Court of Chancery	122	5	0			
				972	15	11
Sale of Publications :						
General	149	2	1			
Alabaster Catalogue	5	0	0			
				154	2	1
Sundry Receipts :						
Income-tax repaid	50	12	0			
Interest on deposit	25	5	8			
Old Sarum Fund	2	0	0			
Anniversary dinner	35	14	0			
Sundries	33	13	9			
				156	5	5

£3464 0 5

FOR THE YEAR ENDING 31st DECEMBER, 1914.

EXPENDITURE.								
		£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
Publications						1044	11	3
Library :								
Books		154	8	6				
Binding		48	13	11				
Subject catalogue		96	9	1				
						299	11	6
Subscriptions to Societies						50	16	6
Salaries, Wages, Allowances, Pension :								
Secretary		50	0	0				
" assistant		250	0	0				
Clerk and Librarian		250	0	0				
" allowances		21	0	0				
Porter		141	0	0				
" allowances		23	10	6				
Wages		153	19	0				
Pension, Sir W. Hope		250	0	0				
Income-tax and insurance on above		23	6	3				
						1162	15	9
House Expenditure :								
Licences		1	16	0				
Insurance		26	4	0				
Lighting		51	19	7				
Fuel		38	13	0				
Tea at Meetings		12	16	6				
House necessaries		12	10	0				
Cleaning		33	10	2				
Clock winding		2	2	0				
Electric bell		2	19	5				
						182	10	8
Official Expenditure :								
Printing		78	12	1				
Postage		27	12	9				
Stationery		28	6	9				
Telephone		9	1	0				
						143	12	7
Sundry Payments :								
Legacy duty and costs		15	18	9				
Anniversary dinner		26	15	6				
" vocalists		6	18	3				
Old Sarum Fund		2	0	0				
Sundries		35	10	4				
						87	2	10
Repair Fund						150	0	0
Balance, carried to Balance Sheet						342	19	4
						£3464	0	5

REPAIR

	£	s.	d.
Appropriation from Income and Expenditure Account	150	0	0

£150	0	0
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BALANCE SHEET,

LIABILITIES.

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Sundry Creditors				888	18	8
Owen Fund				46	8	3
Repair Fund				117	9	8
Balance, 31st December, 1913	30785	11	0			
Balance from Income and Expenditure Account	342	19	4			

31128 10 4

£32181	6	11
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FUND.

	£	s.	d.
Sundry Repairs	32	10	4
Balance, to Balance Sheet	117	9	8
	<u>£150</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>

31st DECEMBER, 1914.

	ASSETS.						
	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
Investments—General:							
£10583 19s. 7d. Metropolitan 3 per cent. ¹	11060	5	2				
£1010 1s. Metropolitan Water Board 3 per cent. "B" Stock ²	1000	0	0				
Ditto—Stevenson bequest:							
£2128 9s. 6d. Bank Stock ¹	7162	6	4				
£2725 Great Northern 4 per cent. Perpetual Preference Stock ¹	3692	7	6				
£2757 London and North Western 4 per cent. Guaranteed ¹	3763	6	1				
£2761 North Eastern 4 per cent. Guaranteed ¹	3741	3	1				
£592 5s. 10d. Midland 2½ per cent. Consolidated Perpetual Preference ¹ .	494	11	3				
					30913	19	5
Sundry debtors:							
Subscriptions	29	8	0				
Publications	119	9	6				
					148	17	6
Cash:							
Deposit account	1000	0	0				
Current account	113	7	5				
In hand	5	2	7				
					1118	10	0
					<u>£32181</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>11</u>

¹ Valued at Stock Exchange List prices on 31st December, 1899.² Valued at cost, as when purchased in 1905.

We have examined the above Income and Expenditure Account and Balance Sheet with the Books and Vouchers and certify them to be correct. We have satisfied ourselves as to the Certificates representing the Investments, except the Inscribed Stocks, for which we have seen Certificates from the Banks in whose books they are inscribed. The value of the Library, Antiquities, Furniture, and other property of the Society is not taken credit for in the Balance Sheet.

FRANCIS W. PIXLEY.
CECIL TENNANT.

JEROME BANKES.
E. NEIL BAYNES.

March 9, 1915.

RESEARCH FUND—

RECEIPTS.

	£	s.	d.
Balance in hand, 31st December, 1913	43	12	3
Dividends	124	17	9
Grant from General Account, part admission fees	54	12	0
Donations and Subscriptions	81	3	6

£304 5 6

STOCKS AND INVESTMENTS,

	Amount of Stock. £ s. d.		
Metropolitan 3 per cent.	10583	19	7
Bank Stock	2128	9	6
Great Northern Railway Consolidated 4 per cent. Perpetual Preference	2725	0	0
London and North Western Railway 4 per cent. Guaranteed	2757	0	0
North Eastern Railway 4 per cent. Guaranteed	2761	0	0
Midland Railway 2½ per cent. Consolidated Perpetual Preference	592	5	10
Metropolitan Water Board 3 per cent. "B" Stock	1010	1	0
	<u>£22557</u>	<u>15</u>	<u>11</u>

OWEN FUND.

2½ per cent. Consols	300	0	0
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RESEARCH FUND.

India 3½ per cent.	1805	13	4
J. Dickinson & Co., Ltd. 5 per cent. Preference	500	0	0
Victoria 3 per cent. Consolidated Inscribed	527	13	0
Metropolitan Water Board 3 per cent. "B" Stock	966	4	2
	<u>£3799</u>	<u>10</u>	<u>6</u>

SUMMARY OF CASH ACCOUNT.

		PAYMENTS.		
		£	s.	d.
Excavations at Wall	.	3	3	0
" Meare Lake-Village	.	2	2	0
" Glastonbury Abbey	.	2	2	0
" Avebury	.	2	2	0
" Slack	.	2	2	0
" Compton	.	3	3	0
" Wroxeter	.	100	0	0
" Old Sarum	.	100	0	0
" Corbridge	.	20	0	0
Balance, 31st December, 1914	.	69	11	6
		<u>£304</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>6</u>

31st DECEMBER, 1913.

Amount of
Stock.
£ s. d.

In the High Court of Justice, Chancery Division.

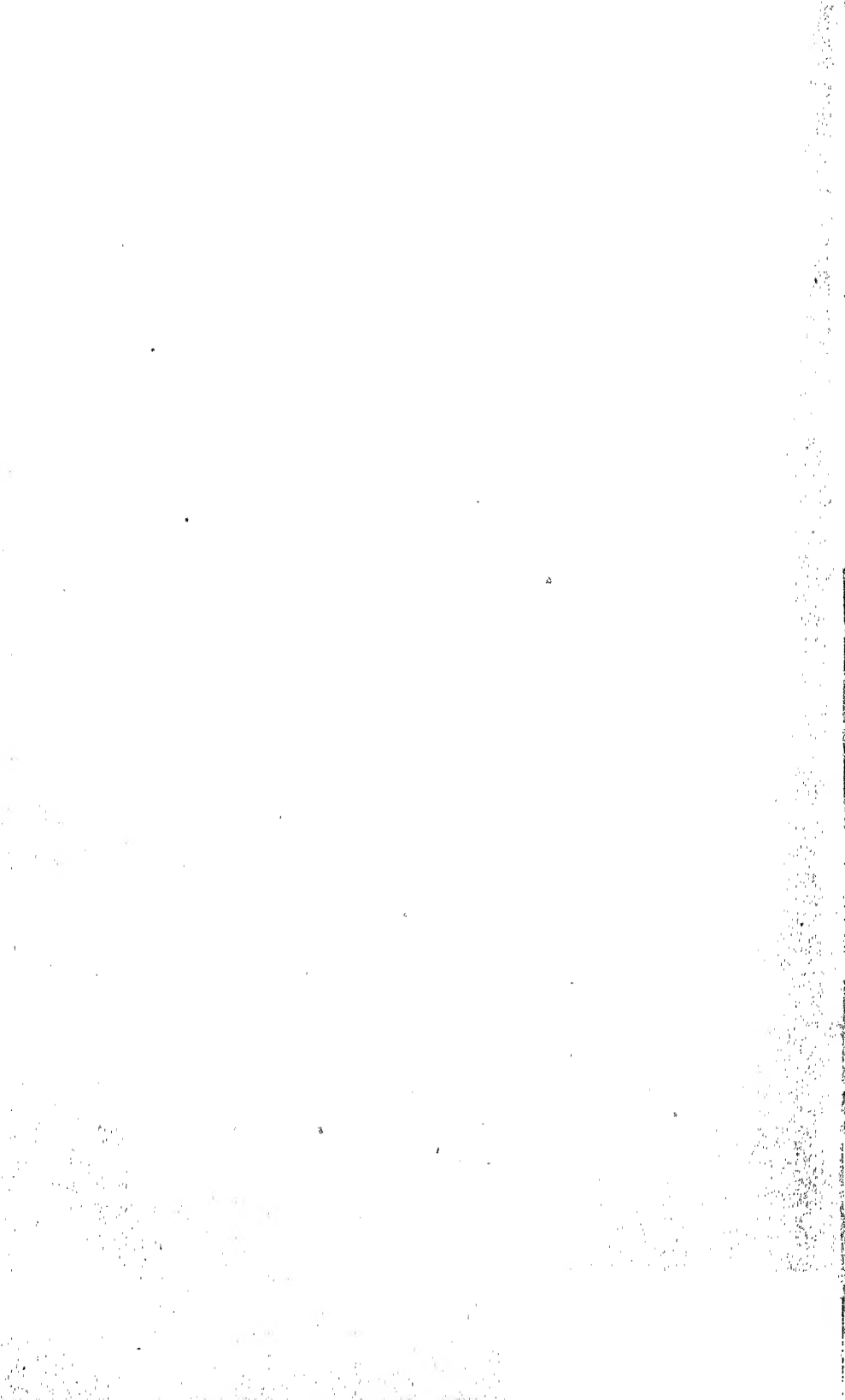
In the suit of Thornton v. Stevenson.

The Stocks remaining in Court to the credit of this cause are as follows, viz. :

Great Western Railway 5 per cent. Guaranteed	.	8894	0	0
Midland Railway 2½ per cent. Perpetual Preference	.	14992	8	5
		<u>£23886</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>5</u>

After payment of certain annuities, now amounting to £300 per annum, the Society is entitled to one-fourth share of the residue of the income of the above fund.

WILLIAM MINET,
Treas. S. A.



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